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A total of 20 representatives of state and federal agencies, universities, national voluntary associations, and the staff of the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training participated in a conference to encourage the inclusion of content relating to different cultural groups in the training of persons who work with these groups in the field of corrections. Papers presented in the document were given by individuals who are members of minority groups or have worked closely with them, and were entitled: (1) "Mexican-Americans," (2) "Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest," (3) "American Indians," (4) "Japanese-Americans," (5) "American Negroes," (6) "Puerto Ricans," and (7) "The Job Corps Experience with Minorities." Recommendations in the summary presentation, "Cultural Differences: Implications for Corrections" include: (1) incorporating content on cultural differences into training programs, (2) using minority group members as instructors, (3) training future workers "in context," (4) matching workers with client groups, (5) locating offices in areas where offenders live, and (6) employing ex-offenders as workers. A summary of this report is available as VT 008 849. (JK)

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DIFFERENCES THAT MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

JOINT COMMISSION
ON
CORRECTIONAL MANPOWER
AND TRAINING

The Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, incorporated in the District of Columbia, consists of nearly a hundred national, international, and regional organizations and public agencies which have joined together to attack one of the serious social problems of our day: How to secure enough trained men and women to bring about the rehabilitation of offenders through our correctional systems and thus prevent further delinquency and crime.

Recognizing the importance of this problem, the Congress in 1965 passed the Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act, which authorizes the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to make grants for a broad study of correctional manpower and training. The Joint Commission is funded under this Act and through grants from private foundations, organizations, and individuals.

Commission publications available:

Targets for In-Service Training, papers of a seminar on in-service training. October 1967, 68 pp.

Differences That Make the Difference, papers of a seminar on implications of cultural differences for corrections. August 1967, 64 pp.

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DIFFERENCES THAT MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

PAPERS PRESENTED AT A SEMINAR
ON THE
IMPLICATIONS OF
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES
FOR CORRECTIONS

Convened in Washington, D. C.
January 30-31, 1967
By the Joint Commission
on Correctional Manpower
and Training

Edited by
ROMA K. McNICKLE

Joint Commission on Correctional
Manpower and Training
1522 K Street, N.W.
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August 1967

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FOREWORD

It is a truism among persons acquainted with corrections that some minority groups are overrepresented in our correctional systems. But correctional rehabilitation programs hardly ever acknowledge the existence of different cultural groups with their varying values and styles of life. Hence it is not strange that little if any information about these groups is included in the training of most persons who work with them in corrections.

To help remedy this situation, the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training convened a seminar in January 1967 to discuss the ways in which minority groups differ from the dominant society. These differences must be understood if offenders from minority groups are to be rehabilitated.

The major papers of the seminar, which are presented in the following pages, were given by men who are members of minority groups or have worked closely with them. The introduction and concluding chapter were prepared by the Joint Commission's Task Force I and Task Force IX.

The Commission expresses its thanks to all participants in the seminar. Special thanks are due to Dr. Catharine V. Richards, who acted as moderator.

The product will, we hope, be useful as training material for correctional workers. Some of the papers point out the need for more correctional workers who come from minority groups and for careful selection of such workers.

So far as we are aware, this is the first attempt to deal specifically with the implications of group differences for corrections. Its timeliness is obvious.

The Joint Commission therefore takes pleasure in presenting this publication to the correctional community. Indeed, it has a significant message for American society as a whole.

WILLIAM T. ADAMS
Associate Director
Joint Commission on Correctional
Manpower and Training

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INTRODUCTION

Alice Maxwell and William F. Meredith

American corrections today, along with other systems such as the public schools, is geared to the values and objectives of the middle class which is the dominant group in American society. Somewhat belatedly, these systems are coming to realize that many of the children and adults in their charge have different values and objectives which are due to their membership in minority groups.

A minority group is generally described as a section of the population which differs from the majority in values and therefore in behavioral patterns, interests, and social customs. But institutions which deal with minorities (often in considerable numbers) are apt to ignore these cultural differences or fail to understand why people who are shaped by them fail to respond to education, health, or correctional programs "like everybody else."

Corrections has a special interest in people who are culturally different from the majority because many of the minority groups are overrepresented in the offender population or are moving toward overrepresentation. If corrections is to become truly corrective, its staff must know well the people with whom they work. It is not enough, for example, to provide the usual type of correctional program for a youth or adult whose native language is not English, whose view of life is quite different from that of the white middle class. To ignore these basic facts is almost inevitably to fail to rehabilitate him. He is released from custody bewildered or embittered, unable or unwilling to conform to ways of living which are acceptable to the majority of his fellow Americans. By following such a course, corrections is ignoring differences that can make the difference between rehabilitation and recidivism.

This book is an attempt to present to correctional personnel some characteristics of minority groups as seen by their own members or by men who have worked long and intimately with them. The groups presented are: Mexican-Americans and other Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest; American Indians; American Negroes; Puerto Ricans; and Japanese-Americans. Selection was based on the fact that most of these groups are overrepresented in the correctional population.

Minority Groups in Our Population

As background for exploring differences between minorities and the dominant American society, it is essential to have a few facts about minority groups in the United States. The following tables give some basic information. Since they are drawn from the most recent source of across-the-board data, the 1960 census, the tables do not reflect some very considerable changes that have taken place in the past seven years, such as the accelerating migration of Negroes to northern and western cities and the continuing flow of Puerto Ricans to the mainland and of Mexicans into the United States. Moreover, it is now recognized that a significant proportion of Negro males were not counted in the 1960 census at all. For Mexican-Americans, we have only a

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Mr. Meredith is director and Miss Maxwell assistant director of the Joint Commission's task force on strategies for action.

Table 1

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL MINORITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

Group	Northeast[1]	North Central[2]	South[3]	West[4]	U. S.
Negro	3,082,499	3,446,037	11,311,607	1,085,488	18,925,631
	16%	18%	60%	6%	100%
Indian	26,356	98,631	127,568	271,036	523,591
	5%	19%	24%	52%	100%
Japanese	17,962	29,318	16,245	400,807	464,332
	4%	6%	4%	86%	100%
Mexican-American	(5)	(5)	3,464,999		(5)
Puerto Rican	(6)	(6)	(6)	(6)	892,513
					100%

Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960, United States Summary;* and Subject Reports on *Nonwhite Population by Race, Persons of Spanish Surname,* and *Puerto Ricans in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963.)

[1] Conn., Me., Mass., N.H., N.J., N.Y., Pa., R.I., Vt.

[2] Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kan., Mich., Minn., Mo., Neb., N.D., Ohio, S.D., Wis.

[3] Ala., Ark., Del., D.C., Fla., Ga., Ky., La., Md., Miss., N.C., Okla., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Va., W.Va.

[4] Alaska, Ariz., Calif., Colo., Hawaii, Idaho, Mont., Nev., N.M., Ore., Utah, Wash., Wyo.

[5] Census data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Ariz., Calif., Colo., N.M., and Tex.

[6] Regional data not available for Puerto Ricans.

Table 2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

Group	14 years & under	15 to 19 years	20 years & over	Total
White	48,084,986	11,608,229	99,138,517	158,831,732
	30%	7%	63%	100%
Negro	7,085,970	1,496,991	10,590,715	19,173,676
	37%	8%	55%	100%
Indian	230,733	49,897	275,392	556,022
	41%	9%	50%	100%
Japanese	148,167	31,228	301,032	480,427
	31%	7%	62%	100%
Mexican-American [1]	1,449,629	306,979	1,708,391	3,464,999
	41.8%	8.8%	49.4%	100%
Puerto Rican	344,996	75,784	471,733	892,513
	38.6%	8.5%	52.9%	100%

Sources: See Table 1.

[1] Data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

census of white persons with Spanish surnames who were living in five states with large Mexican-American populations in 1960. It is now estimated that there may be about 5 million Mexican-Americans in the 50 states today, making them the second largest minority group.[1]

With all these qualifications, it must be pointed out that the tables are indicators of differences rather than complete statements of the extent of differences. But even as indicators, they are significant.

Table 1 shows the available data on the size of the various minority groups and where they lived in 1960. As noted previously, there has been a substantial shift in residence of some minorities since that year. For example, during the Watts riots of 1965, Los Angeles officials stated that Negroes were coming into the area at the rate of about a thousand a week.

By and large, ethnic minorities are younger than the white group. (Table 2) This means many children in proportion to the adults who must support them. All the groups have, on the average, larger households than white Americans. Indian households are larger than those of any other group. (Table 3)

Table 3

POPULATION PER HOUSEHOLD AND YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY 20- TO 24-YEAR-OLDS OF PRINCIPAL ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960

	Population per Household	Years of School Completed by 20- to 24-Year-Olds
White	3.2	12.3
Negro	3.8	11.1
Indian	5.0	10.0
Japanese	4.0	12.8
Mexican-American [1]	4.3	9.4
Puerto Rican	4.0	9.5

Sources: See Table 1.

[1] Data available only for white persons of Spanish surname in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas.

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[1] *The Mexican American: Report to the President,* released by the White House June 9, 1967.

[2] Average incomes derived from medians of grouped data.

A crucial difference appears in the average number of school years completed by young adults of the various groups, as shown in Table 3. While Japanese-Americans of this age bracket have slightly more schooling than the whites, other minorities trail these two groups, sometimes far behind. It hardly needs to be pointed out that a young adult with less than a high school education is in a poor position to compete for jobs that pay a living wage.

Lack of education, together with lack of opportunity, is a significant factor in poverty among minority groups. Data from the 1960 census indicate that the average annual income per white wage-earner was then about $3,000. Japanese-Americans exceeded the white group with an average of $3,200. Puerto Rican wage-earners had an average of about $2,500 per year; Mexican-Americans, about $2,400. Much below them were Negro wage-earners, at about $1,500. At the bottom of the totem pole were Indian wage-earners, at about $1,300.[2]

All these figures are subject to qualification, since some are derived from census samples. There is, however, no questioning the relative status of the various groups as regards income.

Differences That Make the Difference

The differences among minority groups that have been noted above can be indicated in figures. But there are others which have to do with less quantifiable factors. These are apt to be the differences which are most important for correctional personnel to consider in trying to rehabilitate minority persons.

Except for the Japanese, poverty is the great common demoninator among minority groups. Their workers are typically in low-paying jobs or are employed sporadically if at all. Discrimination, as well as lack of training, bars access to better-paying employment.

Inability to use English is a further barrier for many adults. Children who are not allowed to use their native language even in the first grade suffer a critical handicap. Those who do not drop out of school may, as one of the writers in this book remarks, graduate from high school illiterate in two languages.

It is not surprising then that many minority people feel that "to be different" in the United States is "to be less than." Many groups see that they have worse housing, poorer schools, fewer opportunities than typical Americans. This sense of low status which is exceedingly difficult to overcome lies at the root of the frustration and hostility that often mark minority attitudes to the dominant society.

Part of the difficulties of many minority groups stems from the fact that they are moving from a rural to an urban industrial way of life, taking with them social institutions which are often ill-suited to the new situation. For example, most Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Indians regard the family as consisting not only of parents and children but also of grandparents, uncles and aunts, and perhaps other relatives. This "extended family," as social scientists term it, is well suited to rural and village life, where close relatives live and work together. But it is difficult to maintain in the crowded slums of cities to which the family may go in search of a livelihood. If the father is unable to find work and his wife must support the family, he no longer has the sense of being a man. Desertion, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime mark the breakdown of the extended family.

Several minority groups are present-oriented. Hence they will work hard when work is necessary to achieve some specific, rather immediate goal, but they see no value in merely building for the future. Moreover, neither in work nor in play are they strongly competitive. In fact, the person who strives to outdo his fellows may be the subject of jealousy and gossip.

Finally, almost all of the minority groups discussed in this report have had bad experience with authority. Indians and the Spanish-speaking people who preceded the Anglos in the Southwest were displaced from their lands. Negroes were slaves. Japanese-Americans were "evacuated" from their homes and confined in camps during World War II. Mexicans have often been unfairly treated by immigration authorities. Although many of these group experiences may seem remote to the correctional worker and unrelated to his task, he must expect to encounter suspicion or hostility until he demonstrates his commitment to helping the offender in his charge.

The Purpose of This Book

Although many, if not most, of the differences mentioned above are negative in their impact on individuals, this book is not designed to document discrimination and deprivation. Its purpose is to show correctional workers some of the many ways in which members of minority groups are affected by their ethnic affiliations, how their own experiences and those of their group in the past must be taken into account by anyone seeking to influence them.

Some of these group differences have a positive side which can be of great value if understood and made use of by a rehabilitation worker. The extended family is a good example. Although poverty and urban crowding have weakened it and led to confusion and disorganization in many instances, it is a source of great personal strength to its members when it is functioning, even in the slums. Thus corrections should draw upon the extended family whenever possible for help in rehabilitating both young people and adults.

The problem for correctional personnel is to understand the disadvantages that come with membership in most minority groups and to utilize to the full the strengths which also characterize them. The following chapters discuss in more detail the principal minority groups represented in correctional populations and suggest the implications of their characteristics for correctional personnel and programs.

MEXICAN-AMERICANS

Philip Montez

Mexican-Americans form an important segment of the population in the American Southwest. Although they live in many other states, most of them are in California, Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado.

They call themselves by different names according to where they live. In Texas, they are Latinos or Latin-Americans. In New Mexico and Colorado, they are Spanish. In California and Arizona, they are Mexican-Americans.

Before speaking of the Mexican-Americans, some clarifications are in order.

1. The direct influence of Spanish culture on the Southwest has passed. Spanish settlers coming to various parts of the Southwest contributed language and religion to these areas, as well as to Mexico. These contributions, of course, remain, but there is no longer a continuing reinforcement of Spanish cultural values.

2. In contrast, Mexican values are constantly being reinforced, because Mexico is a next-door neighbor. The border between Mexico and the United States is a device to mark political systems. That is to say, Mexico has its political way of life, and the United States has its political way. But culture and cultural values are no respecters of political borders. Human interaction goes on all the time across the border and beyond.

This is one of the major ways in which Mexican-Americans differ from other groups entering this country. The Mexican-American has never been an immigrant. He has never cut the umbilical cord linking him with his motherland. Today he lives as close to his culture as he did before the coming of immigrant groups from Europe.

I sense that in the Southwest the Mexican-American is coming of age. He is developing identity with his heritage, and thus his cohesiveness is developing. Los Angeles has more Mexicans than any other metropolitan complex in the world, except Mexico City and Guadalajara. In California they number close to two million. It is impossible to deny the cultural influence of this group.

The Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest all come from the same cultural pot, and that pot is a Mexican one. Not only are these people influenced by a value system originating south of the border, but the total society is greatly affected.

The historical and cultural system of the Mexican-American has great complexities. His antecedents are Spanish and Indian. Add to this the "go-go" Anglo-urban society and you have a real cultural conglomerate.

The Mexican-American is not a group new to the Southwest. Mexican-Americans were here when the Gringos arrived. They were the first owners of the land in the Southwest.

I recall a session such as this one where I was asked the question, "What does the Mexican-American really want?"

The only response I could give to such a difficult question was, "Well, why don't you start by giving us back the land? Then we can take it from there."

Mr. Montez is executive director of the Foundation for Mexican-American Studies.

The Mexican-American has generally been in the lower strata of American society. Language and cultural differences have contributed to this situation. Stereotyping and misunderstandings by Anglo-urban society only added to the plight of this disadvantaged group. The professional will never succeed with this group until he understands the implications of the Mexican-American culture.

A monolithic society such as that of the United States has real difficulty in conceiving of people who are bilingual and bicultural. Because it is basically an English-speaking, Anglo-urban society, this becomes *the* frame of reference. No university or college in the Southwest has ever accepted the reality of biculturalism. None of these institutions offer training to acquaint the professional-to-be with the complexities of the area in which he will work. Professionals are taught to assume that all people will speak English and act basically just as they themselves do. The reason for this is that few scholars know anything about the Southwest.

Culture Conflict and the Child

In education we have always talked about educating the total personality of the child. So, for a minute, let's dissect the personality of the Mexican-American child. Let us say a child comes to school and, because of his home and environment, he is 90 percent Mexican and 10 percent Anglo-urban in personality. That part of him which is Anglo-urban will be clearly understood by the teacher. But there is nothing in the world she can do for that part of his personality which is Mexican, because she doesn't even acknowledge its existence. For one thing, she's probably never been told about it. A school psychologist tests all children with tools devised for an English-speaking, Anglo-urban school population and then decides that this child or that child is slow or retarded. It makes no difference to the psychologist that he doesn't use the language in which the child communicates best.

Culture not only has its language differences, but it also develops a people's way of thinking which makes it different from other cultures. For example, what are the values of cultures as they pertain to work? Are all cultures as "go-go" as our Anglo-urban society?

Should these different values be part of our consideration in the rehabilitation and training programs of our penal institutions? Or, to put it another way, must people, in order to be rehabilitated, succeed only according to the frame of reference of the professional in charge? This is what has been happening in the past, and penal rehabilitation programs generally have been failures. Do culture differences contribute to these failures? I am sure that they do.

In the Southwest you are not allowed to succeed by speaking Spanish. Your success comes only when you are fluent in English. It has always been disastrous for children to speak Spanish in school or on the playground. Many of them have been spanked and otherwise disciplined for using the only tongue they knew. Nobody ever asked them if they could speak English. It was assumed they should and could.

Let us return to the personality of the child in school. He is born and raised in a barrio (ghetto) environment. Everyone at home speaks Spanish. In the neighborhood, the customs and attitudes are Mexican.

At five, when he starts to school, he is confronted with cultural shock. Everyone speaks English, and he can't understand most of it. He sees the teacher as a mother image. He has always been able to relate to his mother, but this woman pulls back when he touches her. He's trying to reach out for her, but she obviously doesn't like him because she's demanding that he be like the other children. He knows he can't be, but how does he tell her? Can't she like him just the way he is? His mother does.

Many Mexican-American children enter school today speaking no English. If we can reverse the percentages we talked about earlier — that is, make the child 90 percent Anglo-urban and only 10 percent Mexican — his chances of succeeding in the system are very good. But there is still that part of his personality which society can do little for because it refuses to accept the fact that it even exists.

When I began school, I didn't speak a word of English. I understood some English, but there was no real reason for speaking it. My family all spoke Spanish, and that was good enough for me. The teacher asked me what my name was. I answered, "Felipe Montez." She immediately checked her little book of names and, without giving me a reason, told me my name was Philip Montez. Somewhat confused, I related it to my mother, who merely shrugged her shoulders and said, "There's little you can do about it, so don't worry."

Cultural Schizophrenia

I have on various occasions referred to the Mexican-American as a cultural schizophrenic, because of his having to live in a world with a dual cultural frame of reference. The predominant society wants him to be like everyone else, but in his own way he recognizes that there are values within him which are Mexican, which have meaning and depth, and to let go of them would only destroy him. Society must face the fact that we all can't be Anglo-urban. I stopped trying to be that a long time ago. I can never be blonde and blue-eyed. I can fake it, or I can pretend, but the price paid would be devastating. In a democratic society, there has to be a place for everyone, just as he is.

Look at the social problems which plague the Mexican-American communities. Crime rates are high. Narcotics are a day-to-day problem. Unemployment is high, educational attainment is low, and rehabilitation programs are failing. The system tries to place the Mexican-American in the Anglo-urban mold, and he won't fit.

If you want to set up a rehabilitation program for Mexican-American inmates, the first thing that will probably happen is that everything will be geared to the Anglo-urban way of doing things. If most of the Mexican-Americans in your program are 95 percent Anglo-urban, you're going to do an effective job. But if the percentage is reversed, you will be saying, "What's the matter with these Mexicans? Don't they know how long it took us to prepare this program for them?"

It may just be that the frame of reference of these people makes it difficult for them to understand what you're trying to do. It isn't the fault of the people who live in the barrios as much the fault of the professionals who are setting up the programs. They must recognize differences in cultural value systems.

My own experience was one of having to become Anglo-urban in order to succeed in the system. If I had maintained a Spanish-speaking background and gone along with the cultural patterns of the barrio, I wouldn't be here talking to you today. Obviously, there was a price to be paid, and I'm sure a lot of people refuse to pay that price, because it can have its psychological shock.

Machismo

One cultural trait the Mexican-American understands is *machismo.* A man is considered *macho,* which means he has dignity, honor, and integrity, and he is independent of the world outside his family. A man is superior to women and must guard against committing or exposing himself. The male is always proving himself as a man with his mental and physical superiority, his ability to support and care for his family. He must be independent, self-sufficient, and manly among men. The subtle psychology of it all is that the women have more to say than they will admit. They are much more accepting of male immaturity than the Anglo-urban woman. Many times the marriage of a typical Anglo-urban woman to a Mexican man brings a great deal of cultural conflict. The woman will enter marriage with her attitudes towards emancipation and democratic rights for women. She does not realize that this may be achieved at the expense of her husband's masculinity. It can be a trying situation for both.

Seldom are people aware of what is happening because of subtle characteristics of culture. For example, when I enter a school to work as a psychologist with a Mexican-American child, I have never had one say to me, "My troubles with Mrs. Smith are due to our cultural differences." But many times this is the case, and few people recognize it. For years I thought all families were like mine. I did not realize that we were different from other families simply because we were Mexican-Americans. People in institutions, in prisons, don't understand these things because culture is so subtle, but it has a great impact on personality.

Education has never brought these subtleties to the surface and taught people to accept them as realities. We should be saying, "There's nothing wrong with your speaking Spanish. I wish I could."

Instead, we say, "Don't speak Spanish here. Speak English or you're going to get yourself in trouble. You must do things so we understand them or they have no value."

It happened to me, and it continues to happen to young people all the time. Remember that teachers or other professionals can be really foreign to a person whose conceptual frame of reference is not anglicized. The education system demands that students have such a frame of reference and then sits back and wonders why so few survive. Is it any wonder that Mexican-Americans in the Southwest have one of the highest drop-out rates of any group?

The Continuum of Culture

I stated earlier that not all Mexican-Americans are the same. Let's think, hypothetically, of the Mexican-American on a continuum.

At one extreme is the Mexican recently arrived from Mexico. He has identity — a frame of reference, if you will. He knows himself and will tell you how proud he is to be a Mexican. He realizes he must learn English in order to make it here in this new society. We find in the schools that this student has strong motivation to succeed.

At the other extreme is the Mexican-American who does not identify as a Mexican. He knows little or nothing of his language and cultural heritage and couldn't care less. His frame of reference is strictly Anglo-urban. To his embarrassment, many people still consider him a Mexican because he looks like one, and there's nothing he can do about that. He refuses to allow Spanish spoken in his home and denies the existence of any problems facing the Mexican-American community. His orientation is to the English-speaking middle class. He feels that, if he made it, the rest of those Mexicans can do the same. Such people live in a world unto themselves, but to most people around them, they are still "Mexicans." The children of these families do well in school. They are 98 percent Anglo-urban in their thinking.

From both ends of this continuum, let us move toward the middle, where the problems are intensified. The people in the middle are the ones who are not sure of their identity. They intuitively know they are different. They have felt subtle or overt discrimination. These are the true cultural schizophrenics. Durkheim described their condition as "a state of anomie." These are young people in the schools, people in prisons, caught in the duality of cultures, the duality of languages, the duality of value systems, who can't find their place because they don't really belong to either.

The parents of these young people offer little or no emotional support because they don't understand their son or daughter. He or she has already gone beyond them on the continuum and become more anglicized than they are willing to accept. The teachers are little help because the child is anglicized enough to make them feel comfortable when he's around them, and they don't see his problems. The young Mexican-American becomes alienated and misunderstood by both adult groups which should provide his greatest support.

Who keeps this youngster alive as a human being? His or her peers — or the gang. They are all of the same kind, with the same alienation problems, and they understand each other. They teach each other how to "blow a little pot," and from there they graduate to "pills." Maybe then the needle, with some real "hard stuff." What can be wrong with this? All the guys do it, and they're the only ones that ever allowed me in. They can't be bad because they understand me. So young people find ways of accepting and being accepted which they never find in the world of adults.

Independence and Dependence

One other cultural characteristic which is different in the Mexican-American and Anglo systems is the concept of independence vs. dependence. In Anglo-urban society, all young children are reared towards complete independence. The faster we can make a child independent, the more successful we are as parents. We see a four- or five-year-old child crying because he is hurt. After finding that it's not serious, the mother will say, "Don't cry now. Don't you want to grow up to be a big man like your daddy?" The schools do the same thing. "Don't lean too much on anyone, because it's a sign of weakness."

The Mexican child is not treated like this. He will be coddled and loved, with a great deal of emphasis on his status as a child. To the Anglo-urban he appears smothered.

I recall working in a children's clinic where a great number of Mexican-American children and parents came for treatment. My colleagues all felt that Mexican parents overprotected their children. I was forever explaining that the parents actually felt that they loved their children more than "those Gringos." The perception of these parents was that Anglos don't love their children. They perceived Anglos as cold and aloof. Yet the professionals at the clinic perceived the Mexican parents as being overprotective, spoiling their children. This clearly indicates the differences with which people view their worlds. But this is the environment in which Mexican-American children grow up. What happens when they face the independent atmosphere of the classroom?

It is amazing to me, when I have my Anglo-urban frame of reference turned on, to see a four- or five-year-old child walking around with a bottle or wearing diapers. When I ask why, I get this kind of answer: "What's your hurry? He's just a kid." In the fast world of the Anglo-urban there would be a great deal of anxiety developed if a child went too long in diapers. Something is wrong with a child who refuses to let go of the bottle or breast at a certain age. The anxiety is always the parents', not the child's.

Time is vital in the highly industrialized Anglo-urban society. Everything is timed. Time is money, and we can't afford to waste it. In this kind of system, there is a built-in penalty for people who waste. The Anglo develops a guilt complex because his society has developed individuals who are doers, who must always be sure that they are spending time constructively.

The Mexican-American feels that time is something to be enjoyed, and consequently he has little or no guilt about wasting it. His orientation is much more in the present, and he enjoys time at his leisure without guilt.

In some ways this pays off. A few years ago a study was made in the Southwest comparing illnesses among Mexicans and Anglos. It was found that Mexicans had lower rates of heart attacks, ulcers, and so forth, than their Anglo counterparts.

But how is the Mexican-American perceived by the professional worker? "He lacks motivation. All Mexican-Americans are passive. Kids don't want to learn. Why aren't their parents interested in education?" These assumptions are not true. The truth is that people's cultural orientations differ.

In this nation we need to understand cultural differences if we as professionals are to succeed. Indeed, the survival of this nation depends on such understanding. People must be helped to share in economic well-being, whether in a penal institution, in a rehabilitation program, or in the educational process. I don't think this should be done at the expense of the individual's personality or with disregard for that which he cherishes as a value. It should not be done because there is something negative about speaking Spanish and the only way to survive is by articulating in English.

If we continue to run our programs this way, people will continue not to respond to the treatment, to the rehabilitation, or to whatever program we're trying to give them. They will continue to run from us and from all we have to offer.

These are the realities of cultural differences. They do exist, and we can no longer believe that all people are the same and have to fit into one mold. We have to accept the differences and deal with them if we're really committed and concerned about having programs that will succeed.

SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHWEST

Clark S. Knowlton

To understand the values and attitudes of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest, some knowledge of the long, bloody history of the area is essential. This region is the oldest and yet the youngest section of the United States. It was the first part of our country to experience European colonization. The Spanish established settlements in the Southwest long before the first English explorers appeared along the eastern seaboard. Living in isolation from other European groups for almost 300 years, the Spanish settlers in New Mexico developed a unique rural way of life that drew upon Spain, Mexico, and the local Indian pueblos. The first wars between Indians and Europeans broke out in the Southwest as Apache, Navajo, and Comanche fought the Spanish.

Conquest of the Southwest

The Southwest was the last region of the United States to become firmly articulated to the rest of the nation. Long after Indian fighting had become a memory in other areas, Apache bullets continued to whistle in New Mexico and Arizona. Many hard-fought battles over land, water, and dominance took place between the Spanish-speaking groups and the Anglo-Americans. The memories of past conflicts still persevere as harsh memories of past injustices among the minority groups of the Southwest. American dominance was not firmly established until after World War II, when, for the first time in most of the Southwest, there were more Anglo-Americans than either Indians or Spanish-speaking people.

The native Spanish-speaking groups of the Southwest share certain experiences with the American Indians. They were conquered in war. Their property and personal rights were guaranteed by a treaty whose provisions were violated before the ink was dry on the parchment.

The majority of the older Spanish-speaking groups in the Southwest, such as those in New Mexico and the lower Rio Grande Valley, came to regard Anglo-American society as a cruel, incomprehensible system. The Anglos of the nineteenth century and first part of the twentieth stole their land and water, exploited their labor, reduced them to poverty, rejected their language and culture, and left them a minority in the land settled by their ancestors. The fires of alienation, bitterness, and hostility still burn.

Subsequent waves of Mexican immigrants tend to have a more favorable view of Anglo-American society. The poverty, the poor living conditions, and the low wages that they experience in the United States are bad, but they are better than conditions in rural Mexico. There are resentments and tensions among these groups, but they are not so serious or so deeply held as those among the Spanish-speaking groups that experienced the American conquest and occupation of the Southwest. Very few of the Spanish-speaking people of this region as yet have any understanding of Anglo-American values, institu-

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tions, goals, or habits of thought. Few minority groups in the United States are as isolated from middle-class American society as are these Spanish-speaking people.

Names for the People

Many rather diverse Spanish-speaking groups live in the Southwest. They differ somewhat in length of residence in the United States, racial composition, dialect of Spanish spoken, rural-urban residence, degree and type of involvement with Anglo-American culture, and indices of social disorganization and poverty. Although certain cultural configurations are shared by all the groups, there are subtle variations in values and social systems that escape the average Anglo-American professional. Conclusions derived from studies of one group do not necessarily apply to others.

From the period of American conquest down to World War I, the diverse Spanish-speaking groups were all known as "Mexicans." The English-speaking immigrants were called "Americans." This fundamental dichotomy reflected the historic prejudices, stereotypes, conflicts, and hostilities that existed between the two groups since the Americans first came into the Southwest.

The First World War was a major watershed. Before the war, substantial numbers of Spanish-speaking people had not yet reconciled themselves to a full acceptance of American control of the Southwest. There were always small groups here and there who dreamed of establishing a Southwest free of Anglo-American domination. The patriotic fervor of the war brought to the Spanish-speaking groups in the Southwest a final acceptance of their destiny as part of the United States. Their war record played a role in breaking down the barriers of discrimination and segregation.

The change in attitude was marked by the emergence of names that ignored or played down the Mexican element. In New Mexico, an area that had known only 40 years of Mexican control, the term "Spanish-American" emerged and by the end of the 1920's was accepted throughout New Mexico by the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the state. Among a few intellectual circles in southern Colorado and in New Mexico, the work "Hispano" came into existence for the same group. It never caught on. Its use is currently restricted to Anglo-American students of the Spanish-Americans and an occasional Mexican-American. Although most "Spanish-Americans" would resent being *called* Mexican or Mexican-American today, they still refer to themselves in private conversation as "Mexicans."

Also in the 1920's, Anglo-Americans in California, Arizona, and Texas began to use the term "Latin-American" for the more acculturated Spanish-speaking elements who spoke English and who had achieved a respectable economic and social position. As more and more Spanish-speaking individuals moved up the socio-economic ladder, the use of the word spread through the Southwest except in New Mexico. It is still the polite word to be used by speakers at civic club meetings, by newspaper reporters, and by the older generations of the respectable Spanish-speaking groups. It never did sink roots into the masses of the people, who found it insulting to their Mexican heritage.

The term "Mexican-American" has recently come into prominence in California, Arizona, and Texas. Its use is spreading rapidly among the younger professionals, businessmen, students, and the newly formed protest organizations. The emergence of this term indicates a growing identification of the younger generations with Mexico and the Mexican heritage of the Southwest.

The economic, political, and cultural growth of modern Mexico is a source of pride and ego enhancement to the younger people.

Every Anglo-American working with Spanish-speaking people must be sharply aware of the importance of terminology. No name is currently acceptable to all groups among them, and each term will be offensive to a certain number. The Anglo should ascertain what name is acceptable to those with whom he is working, for it is possible to alienate many people by the use of the wrong term.

For convenience of reference, this paper uses the term "Mexican-Americans" for all the Spanish-speaking groups of the Southwest. But the foregoing cautions about use of names with the groups themselves should be clearly kept in mind.

Effects of World War II

Before World War II, Mexican-Americans were quite isolated from the Anglo-American world. There were not many Anglos in many areas of the Southwest except in California, although they controlled the sources of economic and political power. In New Mexico and in some Texas counties, Mexican-Americans managed to retain a few bastions of economic and political influence. In the rest of the Southwest, the barriers of culture, language, discrimination, and segregation were so strong that few crossed them. Among the Mexican-Americans, small businessmen, a limited number of professionals, a few government employees, and a cluster of labor organizers learned English, developed many contacts among Anglo-Americans, and acquired some knowledge of Anglo values. Serving as mediators between the two groups, some were able to exploit the ignorance of each about the other for their own benefit.

World War II brought very significant changes. Thousands of Spanish-speaking Americans were drafted. Although they encountered serious problems because of culture conflicts and language inadequacy, they were accepted by their fellow soldiers. Their combat record won for them considerable respect in the military. The veterans returned home more confident in their identification as Americans. Many emigrated to other parts of the United States. No longer willing to accept the former segregation and discrimination, they struggled to enter the mainstream of American life. Acutely aware of the impact of cultural conflicts and a lack of English in their own lives, many refused to let their children learn Spanish. They were as a group in favor of acculturation and assimilation.

The G. I. Bill of Rights was one of the most important events in the history of the Mexican-Americans. For the first time, the doors of colleges and universities opened wide to them. Hundreds were able to secure a college education and move into the professions, government service, and private business on a white-collar and managerial level. Thousands of others acquired the technical skills through on-the-job training to open small businesses and to find employment as skilled and semi-skilled workers. The housing provisions of the bill permitted a large number of veterans to escape from the slum neighborhoods. Some moved into existing lower-class and middle-class Anglo-American neighborhoods, and others developed Mexican-American neighborhoods marked by improved housing. Mexican-American businessmen and professionals found many economic opportunities to enter real estate, expand their businesses, and make money. They created a newly rich group anxious to be accepted by their Anglo-American peers.

Wartime and Postwar Mobility

During the war years, thousands of Mexican-Americans migrated to the new defense industries of the Rocky Mountains, the Southwest, the Pacific Coast, and the Midwest. In many of these areas, large and rapidly increasing Mexican-American communities came into being. A migratory current was set in motion that still carries substantial numbers primarily toward the Pacific Coast and the Rocky Mountains and smaller numbers into the Midwest. A substantial number, aided by the prosperity of the postwar period, secured adequate employment. They and their children are creating a partially anglicized, often non-Spanish-speaking group that will undoubtedly play an important role in the urban centers of the Pacific Coast, the Southwest, and the Rocky Mountains.

Although many Mexican-Americans were able to find permanent employment at decent wages, there were larger numbers who could not. A rural, unskilled, semiliterate, pre-industrial population moving into an urban world that has little use for muscle power, they formed a poorly paid, partially employed ghetto proletariat, maladjusted to urban conditions. Serious problems of family breakdown, culture conflict, social disorganization, poverty, juvenile delinquency, and crime exist among them. These problems would be easier to solve if Anglo-American political leaders and professionals were aware of Mexican-American values and social systems. They are made difficult of solution by traditional Anglo-American intolerance of minority languages and cultures.

As the Mexican-Americans moved upward on the socio-economic ladder or migrated to urban centers, their places were taken by new immigrants crossing the border. Mexican migration, fluctuating with the American economic cycle, is one of the largest migratory currents now entering the United States. Legally and illegally, it brings into the Southwest more than enough Spanish-speaking people to replace those who have moved away from the border. It is only in northern New Mexico that emigration has caused a total decline in the number of Spanish-speaking people in the population.

Up the Socio-Economic Ladder

The traditional land-owning Mexican-American upper class has virtually disappeared except in the more isolated areas, to be replaced by Anglo landowners, merchants, and politicians. Today, in many Southwestern areas, Mexican-Americans are slowly beginning to modify the dominant Anglo position. Although few have yet become wealthy, a considerable number have secured a comfortable economic position. They are moving into middle- and upper-class Anglo-American neighborhoods. Their children are attending the better public and private schools. They are being invited to join civic clubs. Each election sees more and more of them running for public office. Although few win, the number who do increases every election year. Free of the more obvious barriers of discrimination and segregation, they are now facing the subtle prejudices and practices of an informal network of discrimination.

These middle-class Mexican-Americans desire acceptance as social, economic, and political equals of the Anglo-Americans in the Southwest. For this, they are willing to acculturate. Their children are discouraged from learning Spanish. They seek out Anglo friends and model their family patterns upon the role model of the middle-class Anglo family. They tend to disengage from Mexican-American social circles. Marked by feelings of group inferiority, they struggle for a higher social, economic, and political position in a society whose values they do not fully comprehend. Extremely self-conscious, easily wounded, they are moving away from the Mexican-American group toward the Anglo-Americans who accept them but half-heartedly. They are in essence a genuine marginal generation with high rates of alcoholism and other indices of personal disorganization.

As these people move toward acculturation and anglicization, they tend to become contemptuous of the poorer, less acculturated Mexican-Americans, who in turn regard them with suspicion, envy, resentment, and rejection. Any agency head who assumes that the average well-educated, personally competent Mexican-American can work successfully with poor Mexican-Americans will be disillusioned because of attitudes of superiority only half-concealed. It is ironic that many sympathetic Spanish-speaking Anglo-Americans who comprehend the basic cultural values of the unacculturated poor Mexican-Americans are more successful than the acculturated middle-class Mexican-American. The most successful workers, of course, are the Mexican-American employees who have developed a personal commitment to and identification with the poor.

Unrest among the Poor

Until very recently, the Mexican-American slum dwellers, workers, and villagers have been quite passive in the face of real barriers of discrimination and segregation. The reasons for this passivity are easy to trace. Their traditional upper-class groups, who might have provided leadership, disappeared. Protest leaders in the past were simply eliminated in many segments of the Southwest. Others were forced to leave the region. Very few Mexican-Americans until recently spoke good English or understood the political and social mechanisms of American society well enough to organize successfully. The veterans of World War II, who might have provided a strong focus for organization, were for the most part satisfied by the opportunities provided by prosperity and the G. I. Bill of Rights. The coming of one wave of immigrants after another prevented the development of a cohesive minority grouping. And finally, certain Mexican-American cultural values, to be discussed later, have seriously handicapped any organizational endeavors.

This situation is changing very rapidly. Most Anglo-Americans in the Southwest are unaware of the extent to which unrest is growing. The unrest has sunk deeper roots among the alienated rural migrant workers, the landless village populations, and the small farmers of northern New Mexico. The urban slum inhabitants are just now becoming involved. This unrest is, in part, a fallout from the Negro civil rights movement. It was also triggered by the sudden rise in unfulfilled expectations induced by antipoverty programs. And to some degree it is a nativistic reaction against the impact of Anglo values and socio-economic systems.

New leaders have suddenly emerged from the rural areas, charismatic leaders who have shared the poverty, the discrimination, and the cultural isolation of their people. They are usually poorly educated, unacculturated indigenous leaders. They have the ability to voice the hopes, the resentments, the bitterness, and the needs of their people. Unfortunately, very few of them have any knowledge of Anglo-American values or of the social and economic characteristics of Anglo society. Many of their programs tend to be unrealistic, and they find it difficult to develop a meaningful dialog with Anglo political and economic leaders. A basic gulf has not been bridged. Their most important achievement has been to break through the apathy, the hopelessness, the despair, and the cultural isolation of rural Mexican-Americans. Even though they may fail, they are sowing seeds that will someday be harvested by a better-prepared leadership.

These new leaders are also alienated from the anglicized and partially acculturated middle-class Mexican-Americans, many of whom resent the prominence of the new leaders and their followers. They feel that the new men will threaten their hard-won and still-precarious social, economic, and political positions. They are fearful of Anglo reactions and believe that they may be caught in the middle of a growing conflict. They resent the intrusion of religion into social issues and vigorously criticize the lines of rural workers marching along the highways led by the Cross and the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Here and there in the Southwest, little discussion groups of Mexican-American college students, recent veterans, and young professionals are taking a long, cold, hard look at the cultural and economic position of Mexican-Americans. They have lost the past enthusiasm for acculturation and assimilation. Many of them are studying the Negro civil rights movement as well as Spanish-American and Mexican history. Latin-American culture, history, literature and revolutionary activities also attract them. A slow, halting approach to cultural and linguistic pluralism is developing. Not yet linked to any protest organizations, they perhaps are forming a voiceless group of intellectuals in embryo.

The growing protest movement marks a fundamental change among the Mexican-Americans still largely unperceived by Anglo-Americans. The entire socio-economic structure in the Southwest is coming under question. Little by little, Mexican-Americans are beginning to formulate specific demands upon the dominant society. As far as one can perceive at this time, the demands include: (1) an end of poverty, (2) an end of discrimination, (3) the return of alienated lands, (4) tolerance and acceptance of the Spanish language and the Mexican-American culture, (5) political representation, and (6) justice in the courts.

Undoubtedly, conflicts between Mexican-Americans and the police and correctional institutions will increase sharply in the future. The correctional agencies and the police forces of the Southwest should train their personnel in the basic values, the cultural systems, and the socio-economic problems of the Mexican-Americans before tensions become more serious. There is still time to develop mutual respect and comprehension. If this is not done, relationships may deteriorate until they approach the existing state of hostility between law enforcement agencies and the American Negro.

Border Culture

The formation of an interesting border culture is often overlooked by Anglo observers. The border between the United States and Mexico draws people together. A complex, interrelated economic and social system has come into existence. Every town on the American side is matched by its Mexican twin. The economic prosperity of each community is dependent upon the flow of people, goods, and ideas across the border. American employers depend upon Mexican labor. American banks finance a good part of the economic activities of northern Mexico. The downtown shopping centers on the American side are quite dependent upon Mexican clients. At the same time, Mexican communities thrive on the tourist trade and on purchases by Americans resident along the border. The border communities are becoming so closely interwoven that any attempt by either the Mexican or the American government to close the border to a free exchange harms the economy on both sides of the border.

Unfortunately, there does not exist a corresponding interrelated cultural system. The dominant business, political, and educational elites on the American side are somewhat intolerant and contemptuous of the Mexican and Mexican-American cultures and the Spanish language. They know very little of Mexican history, the amazing achievements of modern Mexico in the fields of fine arts and the humanities as well as in industry, and basic Mexican values. This is not true of the Mexican border elites, who often have been educated in the United States. They have a far greater understanding and knowledge of American literature, history and culture.

The cultural inadequacies of the Anglo-Americans provide important employment opportunities for the Mexican-Americans in El Paso. Anglo employers are forced to employ Mexican-Americans at all job levels, from the unskilled or semiskilled worker through the skilled and white-collar grades to the vice president in charge of the Mexican desk, to meet the needs of their Mexican clients. As commerce with Mexico increases, employment opportunities for the Mexican-Americans will expand. Anglo-Americans seeking employment are complaining about the preferences given to bilingual Mexican-American employees in many El Paso business and professional firms.

In turn, the Mexican-Americans are quite concerned about competition for employment with Mexican nationals. A very large number of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans resident in Juarez have secured permanent border crossing cards or permits enabling them to work in the United States. An even larger number of Mexicans cross illegally to work as domestics, factory hands, construction workers, and farm laborers. These people will accept fairly low wages because living costs in Juarez are considerably less than they are in El Paso. The presence of an enormous pool of unskilled workers in Juarez depresses wages in El Paso to almost the subsistence level.

Border restrictions have tightened during the past two years. Population is piling up on the Mexican side, for Mexico has one of the highest rates of population increase in the world. Yet, even though the country is enjoying an accelerated rate of economic development, there are high rates of unemployment, especially in rural areas. Throughout northern Mexico, people are moving toward the border hoping to find employment on the American side. The number of wetbacks or illegal crossers has sharply increased during the past several years. Although the majority, perhaps, are caught and returned to Mexico, a significant number manage to lose themselves on the American side. As long as poverty prevails on the Mexican side of the border, population pressures on the American Southwest will continue to mount.

Law at the Border

The treatment of Mexicans crossing the border is a source of resentment among both the Mexicans and the Mexican-Americans. Immigration authorities at the crossing points tend to pick up at random a certain number of crossing permits and deny their holders the privilege of entering the United States. Immigration agents periodically sweep through the bus stops and even come to private homes to investigate the documents of Spanish-speaking employees. Once a crossing card has been taken up, there is little possibility of appeal, and the owner cannot secure a new one for at least a year. Illegal immigrants are frequently jailed or carted deep into Mexico. The whole system makes little sense to the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans.

At the same time, many of the illegal immigrants remain in El Paso unnoticed for a period of years. During this time, they may marry Mexican-American girls and have American children. Finally picked up by the police or the immigration authorities, they are deported to Mexico unless they can prove legal residence. The majority of those picked up cannot afford legal aid. The husband and father is forced to go, leaving behind a wife and children with no source of support. This arbitrary procedure breaks up a large number of homes and creates bitterness and hatred. The attitudes thus generated deeply influence the emotions and attitudes of the poor Mexican-Americans toward the entire Anglo system of law enforcement and correctional institutions.

Anglo-Americans familiar with the history of border regulation and immigration controls find it hard to take immigration authorities seriously. Over the past, labor needs in the Southwest have opened or closed the border. During periods of labor shortage, the border opened wide and Mexican workers came across in large numbers. When the harvests were over, the immigration authorities shipped the workers back to Mexico. If labor groups protested the lenient border policy, the immigration authorities tithed the labor forces of employers on the American side to demonstrate their desire to control illegal border crossing. It seems apparent that the immigration authorities are at present trying to prevent the crossing of the border by men in search of employment.

From Rural Village to City Life

Whether the migrants now entering the urban centers of the Southwest and other American cities come from Mexico or from the Southwest itself, most of them originated in rural villages. They are caught today in an urbanized industrialized world that they do not understand. Their basic institutions or social systems such as the extended patriarchal family, the patron-peon system, the village community, and folk Catholicism do not function well in an urban setting. These are virtually pre-literate, pre-industrial people whose values, attitudes, social systems, and work skills seriously handicap their adjustment to a rapidly changing, dynamic industrial system in which there is relatively little demand for muscle labor.

The most important Mexican-American social system or institution in the rural villages and urban slums is the patriarchal extended family. The family has resisted the corrosive forces of poverty and slum environment quite well. The family consists of the father as the head, his wife, their married sons and daughters, their single children, and other relatives or adopted children who may be living with them. The father is the center of family authority. The mother, although subordinate, is in charge of her home. Children are wanted, and the family environment tends to be warm and protective. Rivalry and quarreling between family members is rigidly repressed. Younger children are expected to obey the older children. Males are dominant over females at every age level.

When the Mexican-American family migrates to an urban area, it faces the normal processes of adjustment in a slum environment. If the father can find adequate employment to support his family, there are few problems of juvenile delinquency, family breakdown, or social disorganization. If the father is unable to maintain his family, his wife must step into the breach. As the demand for domestic servants is insatiable, she can always find employment.

The husband, unable to function in the traditional role, is no longer *macho*[1] in his own eyes, and thus he tends to become personally disorganized. He may beat his wife and children to express his frustration. He may drink heavily or seek release in sexual promiscuity. Because of personal humiliation and feelings of failure, he may desert his family entirely.

Traditionally, the Mexican-American mother is expected to rear and to discipline her children. The father should be a little aloof and formal within the home. He should not interfere in the day-to-day operation of the household. As the children reach puberty, the girls tend to remain with the mother. Every endeavour is made to protect the girls from the harsh environment of the slums. Severe restrictions are placed on their freedom.

In the traditional rural family, the boys at puberty were defined as men. They left the mother to work with their father and the older boys. No longer were they the responsibility of the mother. As young men, they were permitted to sow a few wild oats in a discreet manner. Their fathers and other relatives taught them the skills needed to function as men within the Mexican-American cultural system. In Anglo-urban life, they find themselves devalued by adult men and unable to secure employment. They therefore turn to the street and to their peer groups for acceptance and understanding, in part to regain the sense of being *macho*.

Unfortunately, Anglo school teachers, police officers, and correctional personnel can neither understand nor accept the Mexican-American definition of manhood as beginning at puberty. Adolescent boys, who in their own eyes are men, are treated as children. These young boys will defiantly assert their manhood through rebellion, delinquency, fighting, and vandalism. If the Anglo personnel of schools and correctional institutions were to respect the manhood of young Mexican-Americans, many of the discipline problems of their institutions would vanish. These boys seek out masculine company and can be easily influenced by a man who gains their respect as a real man.

The gregarious tendency of Mexican-American boys is also misinterpreted by Anglos. From Denver to the southern tip of Latin America, the street corner is the club of poor adolescent males. As evening falls, they congregate on the major street corner of their neighborhood to watch the girls go by, keeping an eye on traffic and life, talking, dreaming, boasting, singing, playing music, and enjoying a few hours together. To the Anglo, they are a dangerous group of "young punks" planning delinquent acts. The police therefore break up their groups and harass their members. Curfew laws and other endeavours to force them off the street corners are interpreted as one more example of Anglo prejudice and malice. Permitting the boys to enjoy their street corners peacefully would remove a serious source of tension and mistrust between the Spanish-speaking Americans and police departments.

The Mexican-American slum population in South El Paso and in other border communities is completely isolated from the Anglo-American community. Spanish is the dominant language. English is seldom heard in the streets. The majority of the people read very few newspapers. They listen to Mexican radio stations because they like Mexican music. Anglo television action programs are more popular than the Mexican programs, since the former are usually so simple that they are easily understood. The only real Anglos known to the majority of the population are authority figures such as employers, school teachers, police officers, and social workers. They serve as role models for those attempting to acculturate and also generate considerable hostility among the overall population.

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[1] See the preceding paper for a discussion of *machismo*.

Neighborhood Groups

Mexican-American slums are divided into a network of extremely small neighborhoods. In tenement areas, the neighborhoods consist of no more than two or three tenements clustered together. In sections marked by single-family dwellings, the neighborhood is composed of houses grouped together by natural or man-made barriers. If the neighborhoods are stable, the families are linked together through the *compadrazgo,* the godfather system. This type of neighborhood gradually comes to acquire the social structure of a rural village. The dominant personalities are certain family heads, the corner businessman, and the priest. There is little juvenile delinquency or social disorganization. The families cooperate to meet their needs.

In areas where there is a rapidly changing, heterogeneous Spanish-speaking population, as in South El Paso, few of the characteristics of a rural village or traditional neighborhood survive. The adults of each family tend to isolate themselves in their tenement apartments. Very little visiting or mutual aid exists except between family members and relatives. However, even in these areas, the children and adolescents acquire a strong sense of neighborhood. The peer groups are divided on the basis of age and sex. Little boys and little girls play in the neighborhood. Their parents strongly warn them against leaving the area. Shortly before puberty, the girls are confined to their homes, and every endeavor is made to protect them against the influence of the slums.

After puberty, neighborhood boys of the same age group form a loosely knit peer group. In each group, two or three leaders emerge who are accepted on the basis of their intelligence, wit, possession of money or a car, or skill in fighting. There is little rigidity of organization or complex planned activity. Some of their behavior is antisocial, such as drinking, sexual experimentation, use of marijuana, and some shoplifting.

In South El Paso, each neighborhood tends to have traditional gang names such as the Cougars or the O.K. Nines, and traditional whistles are used to call assistance. These names are passed down from one generation to another. The inhabitants of each neighborhood have slightly different patterns of antisocial behavior. Some neighborhoods are known for their fighting gangs, others for narcotics, and others for alcoholism. The children and teenagers very seldom leave their neighborhoods except to attend school or to go to a movie. Within the neighborhood they feel secure and at home. The world outside the neighborhood is strange, alien, and dangerous.

Very few boys participate in all the activities of the neighborhood peer group. There may be a core of ten to twenty boys who focus on street fighting. They wear their hair in a certain way, use certain types of clothing, walk in specifically recognizable fashions, and are known as street warriors by the neighborhood population. They patrol their neighborhoods against the danger of enemy raids and also send out raiding parties into other neighborhoods. Many of the other boys do not participate in aggressive activities. If their own neighborhood is attacked, they will join the street fighters to defend it, but they seldom venture into strange neighborhoods.

Mexican-American adolescent boys in El Paso are not oriented primarily toward crime or toward juvenile delinquency. At most, they can be described as halfhearted delinquents in spite of considerable antisocial behavior. Gang and delinquent behavior represent a protest against the aimlessness of their lives, the cultural conflicts that they experience, and their inability to escape the socio-economic conditions in which they live. As soon as a boy obtains employment or gets married, he drops out of the gang, which makes no effort to retain him. Other boys living in the neighborhood who refuse to participate in gang activities may be occasionally harassed, but they are not forced to join the gang.

Undoubtedly, employment at a salary level high enough to permit a boy to get married or to assist his own family is the best technique available to reduce juvenile delinquency among Mexican-Americans. Boys are then able to function in the role of the traditional Mexican male earning his own living and supporting his family.

School Experiences

As noted by Mr. Montez in the preceding paper, Spanish-speaking children are dumped into English-language classrooms and expected to survive. The majority of such children develop serious intellectual, social, and economic problems. At best they may fall behind the average Anglo-American child from three to six years. At worst, they give up the struggle and drop out of school. The majority who fight their way through to a high school level often have the dubious distinction of being illiterate in two languages.

The teaching materials reflect very subtle cultural biases. Even along the border, Mexican and Mexican-American history, culture, and values are totally ignored in the curriculum. The child learns nothing of the history of the culture of his own ethnic group, and thus Mexican-Americans are cut off from their cultural roots.

Basic Value Configurations

Fundamental differences exist between the basic value configurations of Mexican-Americans on the one hand and Anglo-Americans on the other. The failure of Anglo-American professionals to realize this hard fact is responsible for considerable confusion, anger, prejudice, professional failure, and inability to predict Mexican-American behavior. Therefore, the balance of this paper will be devoted to a presentation of certain fundamental Mexican-American values. The discussion is simplified, as the sometimes very subtle differences between Mexican-Americans and Spanish-Americans are ignored. The important value of *machismo* has already been treated by Mr. Montez.

Time

Perhaps the attitude toward time is one of the most important cultural differences. Time to an Anglo-American is a tangible element divided into past, present, and future. To the Mexican-American, time is a current of life flowing from birth to death. The present is very important to the Anglo-American; it permits preparation for the future. There is no strong sense of a future among Mexican-Americans. The most important division of time is the eternal present, and it should be used to enrich the quality of personal life. Because of the different attitudes toward time, Mexican-Americans are believed by Anglos to be lazy, irresponsible, and undependable. In turn, Mexican-Americans characterize Anglos as being chained to a time machine, unable to relax or to enjoy life.

Work

A related value is attitude toward employment. A man's job is his most important function among Anglo-Americans. His social status, his standard of living, and his prestige all depend on the job. Unemployment and idleness are dreaded and can cause personal disorganization.

This attitude is inconceivable to Mexican-Americans. To them, every man must work because that is the only way to support one's family and to function as a male. Work is good only because it provides money for the essentials and the pleasures of life. There are few people who work as hard as the Mexican-Americans. Work is an important value, but it is only one among other equally important values, such as the family, friends, enjoyment of life, and cultivation of one's personal interests. All of these confer social status. Building up one's social capital is as important as building up monetary capital.

Mexican-Americans enjoy working together in groups. Laughter, repartee, and friendly individual competition cause the hours to fly pleasantly. If a Mexican-American is required to work in isolation, production falls swiftly. The job will be defined as very unpleasant. It is a harsh fate to be the only Mexican-American at a university, a factory, or an institution. If he can, he will suddenly leave, regardless of the salary or other benefits, and return home to be with his own people. If he cannot leave, he is apt to withdraw emotionally from those around him. Many will suffer emotional illness if they cannot periodically recharge their cultural and social batteries by association with other Mexican-Americans.

Fatalism

The average Anglo-American is a natural optimist who believes that the future will inevitably be better than the past. He is oriented toward change, which he defines as progress. Social problems can be resolved by manipulation of the social environment. The Anglo optimist believes that every problem has a solution and man, through science, can overcome all problems. If some problems resist solution, it is because certain men have failed.

The Mexican-American is a cautious pessimist. He does not quite trust either the universe or his fellow men. Nature and the future are somewhat inscrutable. Man himself is a mixture of both good and evil, and it is not always possible to tell which will prevail. Although improvements in living conditions are enjoyed, the Mexican-American is never sure that the future will be better than the past. His history has taught him that the future may be worse than the present. Therefore, the present should be enjoyed fully. When the inevitable difficult days come, man can only resign himself, do what he can, and endure until the arrival of better times.

Dignidad

Dignidad, translated as dignity, is one of the fundamental Mexican-American values. It means that every individual, whatever his station in life, deserves to be treated with respect and consideration because he is a human being. "Face" is as important among the Mexican-Americans as it is said to have been in ancient China. A Mexican-American who is scolded, cursed, or humiliated in front of other people will either withdraw completely from all voluntary participation in programs supervised by the offending individual or he will rebel or even seek revenge. Furthermore, every relative and friend will feel equally insulted. Any Anglo-American professional who humiliates a Mexican-

American should be removed from all contact with them. If this is not done, agency relationships with Mexican-Americans will deteriorate sharply.

Personalism

Personalism is another core value that is difficult for Anglo-Americans to understand or to accept. Anglos tend to react formally, objectively, and impersonally to people encountered during their occupational activities. Professionals of Anglo background categorize people in terms of their occupations, their racial and ethnic group, and their social status. They also like neat, precise, and very tidy allocation of responsibility. Flow charts and tables of organization are dear to their hearts.

Mexican-Americans are the despair of such Anglos. No human relationship is ever quite accepted among them unless it becomes warm, friendly, intimate, and personal. They find it impossible to stay within the confines of a chart outlining responsibilities and lines of communication. The impersonal behavior of Anglos is regarded as rude and uncivilized. To have any success, Anglos working with Mexican-Americans must treat them in a warm, friendly, and personal manner.

Individualism

Competition, individualism, achievement, and success are fundamental Anglo-American values. Anglo children are harried by admonitions that they must keep up with others in their intellectual, scholastic, emotional, and physical development. If they do not, parents worry and children tend to feel inferior. They are taught that, through hard work and individual effort expressed through competition, success as measured by wealth, high social position, prestige, and power will be theirs. Winners gain applause, and losers sink back into the obscurity of failure. Almost every aspect of our economic, social, athletic, and even academic and scientific life is suffused with the idea of competition.

To Mexican-Americans the Anglo is cold, hard, materialistic and mechanistic. They find it impossible to accept the idea that all human relationships must be subordinated to the career of the male head of the family. Intimate friends, family relationships, responsibilities to dependents, and cultivation of an enjoyable life are more important to them than a successful career. They prefer a stable, well-ordered universe, in which every man has his assigned role and way of earning a living, to the uncertain, brisk, dangerous world of competition and change.

Envidia

Envidia, meaning jealousy, is a concept extremely hard to define in English. It seriously handicaps the ability of Spanish-speaking people to organize or to develop effective leadership. Because of *envidia,* a Mexican-American who gains a higher social, educational, or economic level than the majority of his friends or relatives will often incur their hostility rather than their admiration. He will be accused of improving his position through exploiting or selling out his own people. Many qualified men are reluctant to accept leadership positions because of the *envidia* that will follow.

Modesty

Mexican-Americans have a strong reluctance to disrobe or attend to bodily functions in the presence of others, even those of the same sex. Both sexes feel strongly that the body should be decently covered. The mass nudity in military installations and other institutions is very trying to Mexican-American men. A physical examination by a doctor of the other sex can be a disturbing experience. Mexican-American children often prefer to suffer rather than tell the teacher that they need to go to the bathroom. There is very little talk about sex in mixed company. Even among men, there is far less talk of sex than among Anglos.

Attitudes toward the Government

The past experiences of Mexican-Americans with government personnel have developed within them a profound hostility toward and suspicion of all officials. Their contacts with such bureaus and authority figures as law enforcement and correctional agencies, immigration authorities, school teachers, social workers, and politicians have been far more negative than positive. Their problems have been ignored by federal, state, and local government bodies. The result is that any government employee working with Mexican-Americans must be prepared to encounter suspicion, hostility, fear and mistrust. It is very difficult for these people to believe that any government employee would really want to assist them.

Conclusion

In summary, an Anglo-American who would like to work successfully with Mexican-American people should know something about their history, their social institutions, the socio-economic problems that beset them, and their values. If he is working with a Spanish-speaking group, he should try to learn the language. Even though his Spanish is poor, his clients will feel flattered because he is making an effort to learn their language. Thus equipped, Anglo-Americans are in a good position to establish rapport, communicate, and work effectively with Mexican-Americans. Every Anglo-American in such a position will be tested for his sincerity and real interest in the Spanish-speaking people. If he passes that test, he will be fully accepted. But he should realize that the Mexican-Americans have an almost supernatural ability to detect prejudice, insincerity, and hypocrisy.

AMERICAN INDIANS

Robert L. Bennett

American Indians are a relatively young group. Half of the Indian population is under 17 years of age, as compared with 28 years for the population of the whole country. Here we have a group of predominantly young people who are face to face with change. Change is being forced upon them because these young people cannot look forward to carrying on the roles in society that their elders have carried. They know this — clearly or dimly — and they are looking for direction. Many of them are committed to prisons and training schools, although some of the schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) are designed to keep youngsters out of training schools.

Conflicting Values

Although they know that some change or accommodation is inevitable, Indian people generally want to maintain their own society and its values. Their attitudes toward the system of criminal justice indicate this. For example, a young man is convicted of a minor felony and the judge gives him a very light sentence. His people enjoy a laugh at the society that dictates such light sentences. If he gets a very heavy sentence, he becomes a martyr. Many times the whole Indian village or tribe turns out to welcome back a young person who has been released from a penal institution. This is a homecoming celebration for a youth who has not changed his value system, who is still Indian.

Quite a different reception is met by some young Indians who come back from college trained to help their people, only to be rejected by them. Such an experience is very difficult for young people who have been taught the values of the dominant society. They are ostracized, while the person who rejects the dominant value system becomes a sort of hero by serving a prison sentence, regardless of the crime for which he was committed.

This conflict of value systems can also be seen in attitudes toward economic activities. In southeastern Alaska, where fishing is the traditional livelihood of Indians, a young man can work on a boat that catches 50,000 fish in about six weeks and be drunk all the rest of the time but have more status in the community than the boy who is an honor student in high school but is not catching any fish. These are some of the conflicts between the values of Indians and those of middle-class society. Perhaps they are one reason why young Indians get in trouble with the law repeatedly.

In South Dakota, a substantial number of Indians have started out with drunkenness and then gone on to assault and battery and to aggravated assault. All of these offenses are misdemeanors, and sentences are served in local jails. About the fourth time around it's forgery, including bad checks, forgery of signatures, and the like, and this is why they end up in the state prison. Although the Indians are only 5 percent of the total population of South Dakota, they form about 33 percent of the state prison population. The average age of these Indians is 25.

Perhaps a word about tribal systems of justice would be useful here. Jurisdiction of tribal courts is limited to misdemeanors. This system is ac-

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ceptable to the Indian people generally. They fear assumption of jurisdiction by state courts, not so much for its effect on criminal justice as for civil actions which might result in the attachment of Indian property.

Many tribes are realizing the need to improve their systems of justice. They are providing training for tribal judges, who do not now have to meet any qualifications. Some tribes are hiring competent non-members as judges and court officers. So Indians are moving toward a more effective administration of justice.

However, the problem of law violation by Indians is still of sufficient magnitude to warrant concern by the BIA. Some of the problem stems from role changes in Indian society. In the Plains area particularly, the role of the man in society has changed. The man cannot exercise his traditional role as hunter and warrior. Since he can't exercise this traditional role, and since he is unable to accept some of the traits of the dominant society, he is completely at a loss. Women don't have so much trouble because they still can carry on the traditional female roles of homemaker, mother, and so forth. But since the dominant society has put other values on the role of the male, the Indian man has no real role in his own group today.

Communication is undoubtedly the key to change, but you have to have some idea of what motivates the person you are communicating with. It's a frustrating experience for a BIA official to meet with a tribal council and have the council accept the program he recommends, knowing that they're not accepting it for the reason he proposes it. They know he knows it and they know he can't do anything about it, because they've accepted his program. We've had many kinds of experiences like this with groups and individuals. In a way, they're like the inmate of a penal institution who will accept everything, get along ostensibly just fine until the parole board or the warden decides he's ready to go. He goes, and within 60 days he's back.

So I think it's important to know the system from which Indians come, what their values are. Although there may be surface manifestations of their having accepted a new value system, it's not necessarily the case. The fact that they now cut their hair and wear ties hasn't affected some of their basic value systems.

Characteristic Indian Values

One Indian value relates to their basic orientation to the present. This means, for instance, that if you weren't sitting here in the reformatory you could easily be sitting somewhere else, so for today you might as well be here as there. They are not oriented to the future. They're not always trying to pursue future happiness. When you have an Indian society oriented to the present while the dominant society is oriented to the future, you have a basic conflict.

Another value area is that of economics. Indian societies are based on consumption, as contrasted with the production economics of the dominant society. The whole state of American economic well-being is dependent on the Gross National Product. The Indian society is oriented to consumption. This means that nature will provide the things that they need today. If she doesn't so provide, it must be that they did something which offended nature and they're being punished for it.

One of the reasons you hear and read so much about poverty on Indian reservations is related to this and also to the fact that in the whole system there is no such thing as profit motivation. So it's difficult to acquaint Indian people with industries and what they can do in the way of development of the reservation.

Take, for instance, a tribe that has been awarded a million-dollar judgment by a court. You try to persuade them to invest it because at the end of the year they'll have an additional $50,000. Their reaction: "Why wait a year for $50,000, when you can have a million dollars now?" They just don't react favorably to the Big Deal, getting 5 percent interest.

Another factor is the differences in attitudes toward work. Indians work when there is work to be done, either to protect or provide for their society. When there is no work to be done for these reasons, or no necessity for it, they don't work.

This is their attitude toward wage employment generally. They get a job. They need about X number of dollars. This is what the job means: ability to buy or do some desired thing. When they accumulate enough money for whatever their objective is, they quit working. When they have another objective, they go back to work. This is part of their value system.

Another difference is in the concept of time. In most Indian languages there is no word for time. Time, of course, is all-important to our system, and it's very difficult to explain to Indian people about getting to work on time, coming in every day at the same hour, etc., which is basic to almost everything in the dominant society. Nor is the idea of saving for the future a part of Indian value orientation.

Most of the young Indian people who are committed to penal institutions come from this kind of basic orientation. You can see how mere confinement doesn't particularly affect any of these value systems. So I think all this adds up to the fact that any kind of training program has to start with some idea of what the value systems of these young people are. The counselors who work with them must have some appreciation of these values if any meaningful communication is to result. If you want to point someone to a different goal, you have to know where he is now, and why. The BIA, of course, has this same problem in its educational system.

Lack of Guidance

The environment from which Indians come is quite barren of many kinds of development or guidance from the society around them, mostly because of isolation — both geographical and cultural. Youth pick up almost everything they know about the dominant culture out of textbooks, and this is a small part of the development of young people and their attitudes. There are no such things as YMCA's or youth groups to help them make their adjustments. The parents haven't had experience in the dominant society and therefore are not able to help them. There is the problem of the gap of communication between parent and child. The child gets a little more schooling and goes back to the life of the parents. The parent is not able to help the child. So both are frustrated.

Certainly, the way many of the Indian people are living today, it doesn't take an education for the young person to live like his parents, and this becomes obvious to him in a very little while. So there are a lot of gaps that need to be filled.

This doesn't necessarily mean that, in order to participate productively in the general society, you have to give up everything that is a part of the Indian society. Through increased training and education and sophistication, many young Indians are coming to realize that they can share in both ways of life. Thus they can have a fuller life than many people.

There are tremendous problems facing us in dealing with Indians, if only in terms of numbers. The number of Indians in penal institutions is far beyond their proportion in the general population. Then there is the great number of Indian youth coming along down the pike. Unless we can provide different kinds of opportunities for those 50 percent who are under 17 years of age, we have the makings of a real catastrophe. We have to find ways and means of dealing with the problems better then we have in the past.

I've worked with many groups of young Indians. I once tried to promote a conference for Indians who had dropped out of school. The authorities at the school where we wanted to hold the meeting objected because they smoked and drank and didn't behave themselves. My answer was that if they didn't do this we wouldn't bother to have the conference. We always do have conferences for all our Indian seniors in high school on their way to college, and with college students. It's heartening to me to see the interest here in the young people who are not quite so fortunate.

JAPANESE-AMERICANS

Harry H. L. Kitano

To begin this informal presentation, I should like to point out one thing that often happens when members of various minority groups get together to discuss their problems. They are all apt to play the dangerous game that I call "Compare-the-Scars." They start by thinking that their own group has had a tougher time than any other. Then they often forget to listen about the scars of others.

I, for instance, could say that the Japanese can show many scars. And obviously so can individuals representing other groups. Discrimination in our country is based on several main variables. One is race or ethnicity; another is religion; a third is nationality. The Japanese had minus marks on all three; no other minority group can make the same statement. Japanese were non-white and non-Christian, and at a crucial point in American history, Japan was an enemy nation. This, I think, adds up to the toughest barriers facing a minority group.

Rather than just concentrating on the scars, let us consider another variable: the culture of the group which enables it to withstand hostility and discrimination. Here one can begin to understand why the Japanese have been so successful in the United States. They have had a very strong culture in terms of history, in terms of a cohesive set of values and norms; and most important, they have developed a social structure to reinforce these values. A strong community and an intact family were protectors so that hostility, prejudice, and discrimination from the outside served to strengthen the Japanese system.

Oddly enough, I suspect that the Japanese-Americans might be in a worse position then they are today if they had not gone through certain crisis periods, such as the wartime evacuation. A major crisis is important because it forces the group to decide which way it wants to go. For example, the Japanese-Americans might be in a situation similar to that of the Mexican-Americans today if the wartime evacuation had not cut off emotional, social, and psychological ties with Japan. The great majority of the evacuated Japanese said: "Look, we're going to remain in the United States. Maybe we'd better become 'acculturated,' become Americans."

Up to that time they faced the conflict of not knowing whether they were Japanese or Americans, whether they should go back to Japan for an education and a job or whether primary ties should remain with the new country. The evacuation broke up the older generational controls and exposed the younger generation of Japanese to new models and other styles of American life. It came at an opportune time. Although I would certainly hate to see any other group go through such an experience, one big crisis is much more important than a series of lesser difficulties, since, in the latter case, the group is never sure of which direction to go. The evacuation both strengthened an ethnic identity ("We wouldn't be in camp if we weren't Japanese") and exposed the group to more acculturative models of American life. The Japanese used the experience positively.

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Becoming "American"

Certain figures show that the Japanese have been "successful." The chart we have looked at * shows that, of all the groups we are discussing, the Japanese-Americans have the highest level of education. This includes the Caucasians. In terms of personal income, a study for the California Civil Service showed that the median income of the Japanese employee was $7,400, the median income of the white employee was $4,900, and the median income of the Negro was something like $4,700. This is an indication of high education and the more professional occupations that Japanese-Americans have achieved. In terms of professions, another study indicates that, as of the 1960 census, over 14 percent of the Japanese were professionals, whereas they had about 4 percent professionals in 1940. The Caucasian figure for professionals was at the 14 percent level in 1960. So in this area the changes in the Japanese group are impressive.

However, with this success, which can be attributed to acculturation, have come other more "American" behaviors, such as a rise in crime and delinquency. There has also been a rise in mental illness and in other difficulties ranging from heart disease to accidents. What's happening is that, as the Japanese acculturate, they take on both the positives and negatives of the American culture.

Generational Changes

Let me present some figures illustrating changes among the Japanese generations and figures representing a Caucasian sample. To the statement "Once a Japanese, always a Japanese," 78 percent of the first generation (Issei) said yes; 63 percent of the second (Nisei); 47 percent of the third (Sansei). To another statement, "I always look forward to going to family or Japanese picnics," the yes replies were 62 percent, 50 percent, 17 percent respectively for the three generations.

To another statement, "It is only right for a man to marry a girl if he has gotten her into trouble": 79 percent, 80 percent, 48 percent for the Japanese generations, and for our Caucasian sample 36 percent. "My definition of a real man is one who adequately supports his wife and family under all conditions": 81 percent, 82 percent, and 53 percent for the Japanese generations, and 35 percent for Caucasians.

"One can never let himself down without letting the family down at the same time": 89 percent, 79 percent, 59 percent for the Japanese, and 46 percent for the Caucasians.

The last one: "I think I will be a success once I acquire a new home, a new car, and many modern appliances'": 50 percent, 32 percent and 8 percent for the Japanese generations and 6 percent for the Caucasians.

So one can see the generational changes in attitudes which appear to be moving towards the American norm. Corresponding to these attitudinal changes have been similar changes in the institutional and structural components of the Japanese culture. The family will undoubtedly reflect this change also.

Crime and Delinquency

In terms of crime and delinquency the variables that will best explain the Japanese are ethnic identification, generation, and social class.

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* See p. 4.

In general we find that the primary crimes for the Japanese of the older generation are drunkenness and gambling. These appear to be culturally oriented. If you go to Japan, you'll find a tolerance for drinking, and gambling is also popular. I think it is significant that the community in California which permits legalized poker playing is Gardena, which has a high percentage of Japanese residents.

As the generations become American, there are corresponding changes in the type of crime. In the third generation, there is a vast increase in narcotics offenses and a similar increase in arrests for auto theft and other offenses connected with automobiles.

The rates of crime and delinquency also reflect generational changes. For example, if we use Los Angeles County probation data (rates per 100,000 population), **adult** rates for Japanese and non-Japanese appear as follows:

Year	*Japanese rate*	*Non-Japanese rate*
1930	53	190
1940	149	518
1950	111	589
1960	67	793

Juvenile rates per 100,000 population were:

Year	*Japanese rate*	*Non-Japanese rate*
1930	300	1,709
1940	110	1,069
1950	180	1,291
1960	450	1,491

With the adults, the difference between Japanese and non-Japanese probation rates is apparently increasing. The figure for the juveniles is following a more American pattern.

It should be noted, however, that, according to FBI figures, the arrest rates for Japanese are still very low indeed in comparison to other ethnic groups and to the general population.

Marginality

One plausible explanation for Japanese delinquency relates to the concept of marginality. Our delinquent samples indicate that many individuals appear neither Japanese nor American. They don't belong to either of the communities; their values do not fit; their families do not fit; even their personalities reflect the marginal position. I think this is very logical, although it can always be argued as to whether the marginality comes as a consequence of the act or the marginality was there before it.

From this perspective, one major problem for the Japanese will be the newcomer because he, by definition, will be marginal. We are now having an influx of Japanese from Japan, including 16-, 17-, and 18-year-olds. Walking along First and San Pedro, the Japanesetown of Los Angeles, one can readily spot the new Japanese. He is dressed more in "mod" fashion than the Japanese who were born here. He has come to the United States with a distorted exposure to American values. He does not fit into the local ethnic system, nor does he belong to the larger American system. I predict a rise of crime and delinquency in this group. The Chinese in San Francisco's Chinatown faced a similar problem several years ago.

Japanese war brides are another vulnerable group for crime and delinquency. Some of them run Japanese-type bars. In Japan this is perfectly respectable, but here they may be picked up for hustling, B-girling, and the like.

The Japanese community has reacted either with neutrality or with hostility towards these newcomers. It is to be hoped that it will be simply a matter of time before the difficulties are worked out and that intergenerational conflicts, as well as the intercultural ones, will be resolved.

Validating Values

I want to make one other very important point. I think that as we have talked about acculturation here, we were really talking about only one part of the problem. Most groups are exposed to American values by television, newspapers, movies, and public institutions such as the schools, which provide constant exposure. The important point is whether these groups have opportunities to validate the values. This is where the culture or the ethnic system comes in. The first-generation Japanese came into the United States and saw that he was unwelcome in the American social structure. In many ways his values of hard work, reliability, responsibility, and the like were congruent with those of the American middle class. However, rather than depend on the American social system, the first Japanese set up their own institutions, including ethnic schools, clubs, etc. This meant that the Japanese were not wholly dependent upon American institutions and structures for the validation of their needs and values, although it can be seen that in many respects the two cultures were quite similar. The Japanese developed a very cohesive "second" culture on an independent but parallel basis. It sounds like "yellow power." It is this, but not in any negative sense.

Inevitably ethnic systems give way in the United States and become less popular. They just can't provide sufficient opportunities. For example, the newer generations see no need for the Japanese language, so there are no more Japanese schools. The children go to public schools and, instead of going to the ethnic language class after school, they participate in other, more "American" activities. I think this is the way most immigrant groups have started. The two principal minority groups who have met harsh discriminatory practices but have "made it" — the Jews and the Japanese — developed their own cultures.

I'm certainly not going to say that the Japanese really "have it made." There are still covert difficulties in areas such as housing, in certain types of employment, such as executive positions and the like. I'm still very disturbed that, even at the University of California in Los Angeles where 100,000 Japanese reside, there are so few professors of Japanese descent. There are many other kinds of realistic difficulties that we have to face.

But I think the Japanese present a relatively optimistic picture in ethnic and race relations. I think we have made some wise choices such as bypassing parts of the American system, which, although set up to help, have operationally proved to be negative. Public welfare would be the biggest example. Rather than depend on the American public welfare system, the Japanese community provided financial assistance to its own members. Even though the amount was not large, it could include, as a last resort, a down payment for a trip back to

Japan. Statistics from 1900 to 1924 show that three times as many Japanese left the United States as entered it. The system served as a filter, with those who were not doing well returning to the old country. It was a very functional system. The successful group have remained, and they have developed and maintained a culture. Even today one can be born in a Japanese-American hospital, be delivered by a Japanese-American doctor who uses made-in-Japan surgical instruments; then advance right up the line on every level — jobs, real estate, death, burials — completely within the ethnic system.

The system is not all positive. In fact, it's a very narrow and conformist-oriented culture. Yet it has served a most important function. The wartime evacuation did break up the old community, so that the new system is much closer to the American model. Of course, one can always close with the question — "What's so good about the American culture?"

Discussion*

Question: What values have Japanese forfeited to become Americanized?

Answer: I think some important values that were forfeited included those of hard work, responsibility, concern for others, group orientation, and the like. Now shoddy workmanship is taking the place of perfection; there is less responsibility, more selfish behavior. You have to weigh these things. I know of a Japanese laundry that was unionized in 1960. When the 5 o'clock whistle blew, all the non-Japanese unionized employees could go home, but all the Japanese felt that they had to remain and finish the work without extra pay because, in the old system, loyalty to the employer was paramount. Later, I found, most of the Japanese employees quit. You can answer yourself whether this was good or bad.

The role of the woman is also changing. Now the Japanese woman is as pushy as the American woman. She has all of the positives and negatives associated with American women.

Child-rearing has also changed. Japanese socialization is one of the clearest, from my point of view, in terms of knowing where one is. The American mother says, "Johnny, do you want your eggs?" Johnny says no. The mother is sure eggs are good for him, so she starts arguing, "Well, eggs are good for you." Finally Johnny says, "All right, I'll have eggs." Then comes the next round, "What kind do you want?" This is the American verbal interaction system, which consists of a series of motivational questions, asked of even three- or four-year-olds.

The older Japanese had a role prescriptive system. They were more likely to say, "Here are your eggs, eat them," and there was very little prolonged verbal interchange. This illustrates the different socialization patterns. But in the present Japanese family one finds the same kind of verbal interchanges, and the arguments and verbal resolutions. The question always is: "Which is more functional for the child as he grows up?"

Question: Is the dominance of the employer in employer-employee relationships making the individual over-dependent?

Answer: Oh yes. But, you see, this fits into a different kind of culture, and this is why, when you translate that system into the United States, it will fall apart as the group becomes acculturated. At the start the Japanese were able to use that system because the Japanese worker couldn't find work anywhere else. But there were benefits to the paternalism too. The paternalistic system provided a whole social security system, so that any person who was hurt or became unproductive was still considered a part of the system and got his wages or a pension; his social, economic, and other needs were met. The system was very functional for a number of years. The dependency of the worker on his boss will change because the American system is perceived to be more desirable (e.g., you get paid twice as much). And, of course, there is a feudalistic dimension to the old relationship, although I would argue that this is not an appropriate analogy.

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* Space limitations have precluded printing the wide-ranging discussions of the seminar. However, since some of the questions asked of Mr. Kitano have particular interest for corrections, the discussion is included here.

Question: I've heard it said that there were certain similarities between the Japanese values and the Protestant ethic of the 19th century American capitalism, and that this to some degree facilitated the adjustment of the Japanese coming into the United States.

Answer: The two sets of values weren't identical, but they were very congruent. The dominant Japanese value that has been the most functional for the group in the United States has been that of work. A man's worth is measured by his work. This is still one of the cornerstones of the Japanese-American system. An interesting analytic therapy that is popular in Japan today is called Morita therapy, which is close to "work therapy." The therapeutic relationship doesn't focus on feelings, attitudes, or emotions. Instead the message is: "Get out there and work. Once you work, the other things will start falling into place." The American therapeutic model with the verbal interchanges and motivational questions often focuses on attitudes and feelings and emotions, and it is easy to get caught in the morass.

Question: What about the drive toward professionalism? I grew up in an area in which there were a good many Japanese families. One thing that impressed me was the enormous sacrifice and drive to get the children, especially the boys, to college, and to get them into the professions. Usually the first ten names in the honors lists would be Japanese-American.

Answer: Yes, this presents a very interesting generational problem that I think many other immigrant groups have faced, where the first generation comes in relatively uneducated. The second generation is usually in a position of surpassing them, but the third generation then has some difficulty. I suspect that the proportion of Japanese-American professionals is abnormally high, which means that the third generation of Japanese-American may never be able to surpass their parents educationally. They may be able to equal but not to surpass them. This status discrepancy is often associated with downward mobility and behaviors such as suicide, drunkenness, alcoholism. So this may be a problem we will be facing in the third generation.

Question: Do you still have the same focus on the professions?

Answer: It's still very, very narrow. This is why when people say Japanese-Americans are educated, I answer yes and no. They go into limited professional fields — pharmacy, medicine, engineering, draftsmanship, art — in fact you could name a majority of the Japanese occupational fields without ranging too far. (I think the Jews and the Japanese have pharmacy practically locked up in California.) The Japanese are very vocationally oriented. It's not a desire for a "liberal education," non-functional. In other words, very few Japanese acquire the taste for "culture" in the layman's sense. So it's a narrowly educated group, very vocationally oriented, and I suspect that even when Japanese go into prison they'll probably fall into this category.

Question: What about the motivating factor or defense mechanism of the group, because of the more stringent nonacceptance? Even the Negro was accepted in certain kinds of relationships which didn't occur for the Japanese until much later on.

Answer: I think, given choices, it's better to have overt discrimination than to have the more subtle kind, because it makes it very clear that you have to organize yourself. And this is what's happened to the Oriental. If you look at some of the literature of the 1900's, you would probably conclude that some of the other groups were treated very mildly. But the Japanese also came with one great asset. I still remember, and so does every Japanese child of a past era, that Japan was the only non-white nation to beat a major European power in war. (This referred, of course, to the Russo-Japanese War.) This was told over and over again. In 1906 there was a big school segregation crisis in San Francisco, where the school board wanted to segregate the Japanese. The Japanese government said they would be insulted, and Teddy Roosevelt said: "Let's cool it. We don't want a war with Japan." There was this national pride, a degree of power and leverage which turned out to be both a negative and a positive force (e.g. wartime evacuation). But it's an important dimension of ethnic pride and identity, one which I think very few other non-white groups have had.

AMERICAN NEGROES

Wesley Ted Cobb

This paper will have two main themes: first, the influence of the social systems created in the United States to fix the relationship of the Negro to the general society; and second, what corrections can do in dealing with Negro offenders.

In approaching these subjects several basic points need to be clearly understood.

1. Three social systems, all products of the American culture, have exerted a profound influence on the American Negro. These are slavery, segregation, and integration. These systems can be seen in the long stream of the American Negro's history reaching over three periods of time:

    1619 - 1863 for the system of slavery
    1864 - 1954 for the system of segregation
    1955 to the present for the system of integration

2. The culture of the Negro *as a group* in the United States is essentially an adaptation, a fusion of the many cultures with which the Negro has had contact over the last four centuries. The social, political, economic, religious, and biological "genes" which have gone into the cultural makeup of the Negro are drawn from the blood and cultural lines of not only the African slaves but European settlers and American Indians as well.

    The culture of the Negro *as an individual* is substantially reflective of the social and economic group with which he can be identified in the lower, middle, or upper class of the general society.

3. In the past, the Negro population was largely concentrated in the South and was heavily oriented toward southern agricultural patterns. At the present time, the Negro population has been redistributed throughout the major metropolitan centers of the nation and is largely oriented toward the urban-industrial economic patterns of American society.

4. The bulk of the Negro's experience in this country has been one of racial oppression, restriction, and disadvantage. Since colonial times, the major institutional forces of American society have either contributed to or acquiesced in this discriminatory treatment. In recent years, especially during the last two decades, these institutional sanctions have been weakened or removed. Despite this change in institutional support of racial discrimination and segregation, the nation and the Negro are still confronted with a formidable array of social and economic problems which have accumulated through the previous years of denial and isolation.

Slavery and Negro Culture

Slavery was the primary crucible in which the American Negroes were developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Within it, the cultures of the African and European were fused. The historical roots and cultures of

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the European have had better documentation and public relations treatment in this country than that of the African. Examination of one or two points about the African ancestors of today's Negro reveals a degree of cultural diversity comparable to that of the various groups of Europeans. They had names like Sengalese, Whydahs, Eboes, Mocoes, Angolas, or Mandingoes, instead of Poles, Czechs, Sicilians, Croats, Swedes, Danes, Scots, Germans, or Lithuanians. Languages were equally diverse. The early African societies were not as simple as stereotypes and myths about the Negro have suggested. Their legal, political, and economic systems and family structures were in fact quite complex, often far more complex than some of the systems found in Europe at the same period.

Like many of the European immigrants, the African slaves were largely oriented toward agriculture. In fact, among the skills and experiences which made the African slave so highly valued were those of the agricultural worker and the craftsman.

The Negro's development within the system of slavery occurred under the heavy influence of at least three key forces: cultural stripping; miscegenation; and concepts of social caste and class. Cultural stripping was primarily a manpower development device involved "breaking in" or training the African slave. It was also designed to prevent slave rebellions. One feature of the process was intermixing the various African groups across nationality, tribal, and cultural lines. This often resulted in weakening and disorganizing the family unit and other systems of organization which might help the slaves to oppose the slavemaster or detract from the slave's efficiency as a worker.

The process of cultural stripping was effectively dramatized by Mark Twain in his classic tale of two American rebels: Huckleberry Finn and Nigger Jim. It may be recalled that, in their journey on the raft, Huck was helping his friend Jim to escape from slavery. That made Jim and Huck partners in crime. It was against the law for a slave to attempt to become free without his master's consent. It was also against the law for anyone to aid in such an attempt.

Jim said a daring thing. When he got free, he said, he would go somewhere and get a job as a free laborer. He would save his money. He would take the money and buy the freedom of his wife. Then he and his wife would work together and save more money so that they could find their two children and buy their freedom. In this simple dialog, Mark Twain exposed one of the most cruel dimensions of the process of cultural stripping as experienced by the Negro: the dismemberment and scattering of the family.

To see more of the consequences of cultural stripping, ask yourself a few questions. How many American-born Negroes do you know, whose names are Kenyatta, Luthuli, or Mboya? These are African names. Names like these were lost through cultural stripping of slaves who were the African ancestors of the Negro in America. How many Negroes, born in America, do you know whose religion is not one of the dominant patterns of religion in this country? The "Black Muslims" are an exception, but this is in fact an innovation, a cultural product of twentieth century America. How many Negroes, American born, do you know who speak Swahili, Yoruba, Sudanese, or Bantu? These are among the many languages of the American Negro's African ancestors.

Miscegenation or sexual relations across color lines has not been widely reported on by historians, yet it was practiced quite widely throughout the South, conducted largely at the initiative of the slavemaster. It had far-reaching effects on the cultural and biological patterns of both the Negro and white population in the South.

Segregation and the Development of Negro Culture

Segregation should be understood as a continuation of the earlier effort within slavery to fix a generally subordinate socio-economic position for the Negro on the basis of his race.

What is frequently missed or ignored by historians of this period is that while the Civil War resulted in the abolition of slavery, segregation became even more widespread than slavery. It defined in legal terms the social-political status and economic position of the emancipated Negro. The laws regulating the system of segregation came to be known as the "Black Codes," most of them adopted between 1870 and 1910. The system of segregation in the South was quite rigidly enforced by the various institutional forces, including schools and churches, but special emphasis was placed on racially restrictive law. In the North, while a number of states adopted laws restricting or segregating Negroes in relationships with whites, the main reliance for building and maintaining segregation was on controls over jobs and housing. Social relationships were segregated by widespread and fairly uniform policies and practices which covered everything from country clubs to churches.

Regional or local variations notwithstanding, the consequences have been to produce an enormous pile-up of human problems whose rapid multiplication we are now witnessing in our concern about "hot cities" all over the country. These problems have been documented many times in terms of unemployment, bad housing, high mortality rates, high delinquency and school drop-out rates, shorter life expectancy, higher rates of family disorganization and dependency. The influence of segregation in the areas of education and crime among Negroes is especially relevant to this discussion.

The historic decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954 constituted the most far-reaching challenge to legal segregation by declaring segregation on the basis of race to be unconstitutional. It is hardly necessary to document here the fact that, while legal segregation of schools is coming to an end, the rate of desegregation is very slow and that schools in many parts of the country are still segregated because housing is segregated.

What is important for us to consider in connection with crime is the effect of segregated schools on the educational achievements of young Negroes. For crime and low educational achievement go hand in hand, regardless of race.

One of the most pointed statements on the effects of school segregation on the academic performance of Negro youth was developed in a special study on Harlem youth under the leadership of Dr. Kenneth Clark. Here are some of the findings on Central Harlem schoolchildren:

> In reading comprehension, 13.2 to 39.6 percent of the third-grade pupils [in the various schools studied] are reading below grade level, compared to only 10 to 36.7 percent who are reading above grade level. For sixth-grade pupils, the story is even more dismal. From 60.4 to 93.5 percent score below grade level, while at most 26.7 percent score above.[1]

The study notes that about 41 percent of the pupils entering high schools from Central Harlem in 1960-61 dropped out before graduation. After reporting on the performance of students who do go on to academic or vocational high schools, the study concludes:

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[1] Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change* (New York, 1964), p. 167.

> Less than half of Central Harlem's youth seem destined to complete high school and of those that do, most will join the ranks of those with no vocational skills, no developed talents and, consequently, little or no future.[2]

Similar findings have resulted from smaller studies in city after city across the United States.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice has clearly linked failure in school with delinquency in a "downward spiral of failure."[3] The unsuccessful Negro student, the drop-out or low academic achiever, like the unsuccessful white student, is more likely to become a crime and delinquency statistic.

Negro Offenses and Offenders

Crime is defined for a society by the people who have the power to make, pass, and enforce laws. This is a concept which has had much relevance for the Negro in the United States. What constitutes crime has been for the Negro pretty much what somebody else said it was.

During the period of slavery, Negroes were most directly subject to the personal laws of the slaveowner. They were also subject to the laws governing property which were perverted to cover the system of slavery. As the Dred Scott Decision of 1857 confirmed, the laws of the society at large were regarded as applicable to the Negro only as long as they did not interfere with his status as a slave.

Crimes committed by the Negro during this period were determined by his legal status as a slave. A partial catalogue of the crimes with which the Negro slave could be charged included: worshipping without permission of the slave master, trying to learn to read and write, demanding wages for his labor, "talking back" to a white man, protesting when a slavemaster raped his wife or seduced one of his children, objecting if his wife or children were sold, attempting to escape from slavery, attempting to organize other slaves into revolting against slavery, talking about freedom.

In the South during the decades following the Civil War, the systems of segregation were established so that it was legally a crime for the Negro to: use a public toilet, read in a public library, picnic in a public park, drink water from a public drinking fountain, marry any person regarded as white, attend a racially unsegregated public school, eat in a public restaurant, sleep or eat in a public hotel or motel, sit in the front of a public bus.

The imprint of segregation is still clearly marked. Available data suggest that the Negro offender is likely to be about 25 years old, single, unemployed or marginally employed, a high school drop-out with a record of previous arrests, most frequently as a juvenile offender. He is most likely to be from a urban ghetto or other area which is residentially segregated.

The President's Commission has noted that "one of the most fully documented facts about crime is that the common serious crimes that worry people most . . . happen most often in the slums of large cities."[4] So with juvenile delinquency. "Numerous studies have revealed the relationship between certain deprived areas — particularly the slums of large cities — and delinquency . . . Thus Negroes, who live in disproportionate numbers in slum neighborhoods, account for a disproportionate number of arrests."[5]

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[2] Ibid., p. 188.

[3] *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society:* Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 68 ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 35.

It is regrettable that no clear and consistent data have been developed about the Negro offender on a national or regional basis which are wholly free of errors of method or the influence of racial bias. National Urban League special files on Negro crime contain a report about an alert Urban League staff representative who investigated a police department report of a sharp rise in the Negro crime rate in a midwestern city. Investigation revealed many discrepancies which were the results of errors in methods of organizing data for Negroes. Corrections in the discrepancies produced reductions of 200 to 300 percent in many of the figures reported. It was subsequently concluded that the trend of the Negro crime rate was actually down, not up, because of improvements which the community had provided in job opportunities.

Integration

We come now to the third social system which has had special relevance for the Negro in America — integration. The term relates to the process of incorporating individuals from different groups into the general society.

Integration of the Negro into American society reflects an important shift in the major institutional supports which have reinforced slavery and segregation in the past. Supreme Court decisions on civil rights since 1954 and civil rights laws passed by the Congress in 1957, 1964, and 1965 affirm specific national policies and require reforms in race relations. Other dominant institutional forces such as business, labor, industry, religion, education, and welfare either have taken on or are initiating similar reforms.

Some have interpreted incorrectly the handing down of a court decision, the passage of a law, or the formulation of a corporation policy on better race relations to mean that the problems affecting the Negro have been almost or completely solved. Such a view, however benign, could hardly be less accurate. You simply cannot turn the massive public and private institutional forces of society as powerful as those of this country against any group of people for nearly 400 years and expect that group to be in a position of full recovery and equality through the pronouncements and programs of the last 10 or 15 years. Regarding the integration of the Negro today, our nation has three major tasks: one, dealing with accumulated race problems of the past; two, altering the race patterns of the present; and three, creating new race relations designs for the future.

In 1949, the late E. Franklin Frazier summed up examinations of Negro delinquency and crime and made an observation about the relation of integration to both which is still pertinent nearly twenty years later.

> . . . Gradually students have come to study Negro crime in relation to such economic and social conditions as poverty, ignorance, and urbanization . . . Negro criminality has been studied in relation to the effects of the subordinate status of the Negro. Moreover, sociological studies of the high juvenile delinquency rate among Negroes have revealed that it is not higher than that of whites when studied in relation to the social disorganization of the areas in which Negroes are concentrated in cities. This new understanding of the nature of Negro crime and juvenile delinquency has

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[5] Ibid., p. 57.

helped to redefine these problems. *But whether this knowledge will be utilized to reduce Negro crime and juvenile delinquency will depend partly upon the extent to which the Negro is integrated into American life and partly upon the measures which the American community adopts to deal with these problems.*[6]

Corrections and the Negro Offender

It is of course important to understand something about the culture and struggle of the Negro and the various influences in the American society which retard his advancement or undergird some of the differences in deviant behavior. What is more important is effective action to combat these influences today. I believe that, of all persons working in the helping professions, those in the field of correctional services have one of the best opportunities to create new patterns of rehabilitation with respect to the Negro. The institutional apparatus of the correctional system enables the professional in this field to have more complete control over methods and results than is the case elsewhere. The current public interest in crime and delinquency can be tapped for support of the innovations and resources essential to progressive programming for the Negro offender.

In my view, there are several correctional roles or positions which are relevant to efforts designed to advance the rehabilitation of the Negro offender. These include the policy-maker, the administrator, the staff specialist or generalist, and the consultant. What can these people do? There are seven general targets to be given consideration by all who are concerned with helping the Negro offender:

1. Define more carefully and understand the problems and needs of the Negro offender.
2. Reorient and train correctional services personnel, paid and volunteer, so that they will be enabled to operate free of the fetters of racism.
3. Develop the necessary policies to correct present inequities and injustices which apply to the Negro offender.
4. Design and carry out programs necessary to deal more productively with the problems of the Negro offender.
5. Be certain that all efforts are free of influence of race prejudice and discrimination.
6. Measure, improve, and interpret results.
7. Get the resources and public support necessary to do the job right.

The correctional policy-maker can exert significant influence because he is able to exercise controlling judgment over broad guidelines and allocation of resources as well as the organization of public support for enlightened policy and the necessary resources to carry programs out successfully. Four basic actions are suggested: review of policy, policy revision, evaluation of the results of applying the policies, and mobilizing support for policy implementation.

The administrator in the field of correctional services often combines policy-making functions with those of administration. If so, he has a double advantage and opportunity. The first step should be an administrative inventory of what the present situation is, covering a broad range of questions regarding policies and practices. Examples: Does the agency have specific policies against racial segregation and discrimination? Do training programs for all staff include efforts to produce greater understanding of the special factors which influence and help Negro offenders? Does evaluation of staff performance include evaluation of attitudes toward and treatment of Negro offenders? What is the position of the agency head toward the practitioner who injects racial prejudice into his relation with Negro offenders?

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[6] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 653. Italics added.

The agency's staffing policies and practices are bound to have an effect upon the treatment of Negro offenders. Are Negroes recruited for all staff vacancies? Are they represented at the administrative and policy-making level? Are they given special assignments because they are Negroes? Are they treated in any way that is discriminatory?

Perhaps the most basic question of all is this: Does the agency seek to convey to the Negro offender through actual practice its determination not to continue the discrimination which he has encountered in the society from which he came. Unless he is convinced of this policy, rehabilitation is unlikely to take place.

The second step for the administrator should be the development and execution of a broad comprehensive program designed to get results. Some of the supportive elements should include:

1. Development and publication of specific policy directives which will facilitate implementation of organized programs with the Negro offender.
2. Staff briefing and training sessions on the policy and program.
3. Periodic measurement and reporting on results.
4. Concentration on specific priorities.
5. Assignment of a project coordinator to be responsible to the administrator for program implementation.
6. Allocation of necessary resources and personnel to get the job done.
7. Utilization of professional consultants especially in the planning and evaluation phases.

As another step the administrator should report and interpret the progress not only to his own personnel, but also to his colleagues in the field and, where advisable, to the general public.

As a part of the total effort, the far-sighted administrator will also call upon all related agencies and elements of community leadership to participate in his programming for aid to the Negro offender or lend support to it.

Staff members occupy an especially strategic position because of responsibility which they carry for the day-to-day operations with the offender. Staff members should be concerned with at least six things:

1. *Building trust and confidence.* As previously indicated, over the years the average Negro has had good reason to distrust the law and its representatives at the local level in face-to-face relationships. The practitioner will find his skills blunted and useless in the rehabilitation process if his view is that of the custodian and guardian of white supremacy appointed to hold and punish the Negro for his offense against society.
2. *Providing fair and unprejudiced use of authority.* This is essential to building trust and confidence which is in turn basic to rehabilitation. The Negro offender will be responsive to the rehabilitative process if he can see and understand that he will be treated with consistent

fairness and that his race or color will not be the basis for discriminatory treatment.

3. *Maintaining sensitivity to the previous experiences of the Negro offender with the law.* As a part of the rehabilitative process, the practitioner should find it most helpful to review the individual Negro's case, to determine the extent to which he may or may not have been a victim of injustice at the hands of other representatives of the law.
4. *Diagnosing and treating the special needs and problems of the Negro offender as an individual.* The point is often made by psychologists and medical doctors that, irrespective of generalizations which can be made about human problems affecting any class or group, each case must be considered in relation to the problems which are unique to the individual. The consistent application of this kind of understanding will go a long way toward enabling correctional practitioners to deal with the problems of the Negro at a higher level of competence and with greater results.
5. *Developing supportive contacts with the Negro community.* The correctional worker is also advised to build and maintain a good working relationship with agencies and leadership with full-time interest and responsibility for working on problems of the Negro, among them the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Public agencies such as human relations commissions should not be overlooked.
6. *Building lines of support and understanding of the problems of the Negro offender in the community at large,* so that he will have a greater opportunity to succeed upon completion of his rehabilitation. This is particularly relevant where the Negro offender, returning to the community, can be expected to encounter special difficulties in securing employment opportunities.

A Message from Malcolm X

In closing this presentation, I should like to tell you about an encounter with Malcolm X in Chicago. Malcolm X, as you may recall, was a fiery young Negro who emerged as leader of the "Black Muslims" and irritated a great many people because of what he said and did. In the encounter that I had with him, he was conscious of my relationship with the Urban League. He was aware of the fact that he and I addressed and reached different publics and consequently evoked different responses. So Malcolm X made a special point of asking if I would say something to the people I was able to reach about the implications of the ways in which he had to come up in life. Let me paraphrase what Malcolm X said.

> When you meet and talk with these good people, black or white, say to them that I am a Negro who signifies a new breed. I am a black man not born in the South. Although I am a product of the South's history, I did not come out of Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia. I came out of Michigan and Illinois. Say to these people — these good people — that I was one of those kids that nobody wanted to bother with. I was a nappy-headed nigger who smelled bad, who talked bad, and acted bad, who had bad grades in school. But despite all of this badness I knew that I had some ability. I told myself that, and because I could tell myself that, I reached out for some help.

> I reached out to the good people in every town I lived in for some help. They said no. They couldn't see past my smell. They couldn't see past my language. They couldn't see past my nappy head. They couldn't see past my raggedy clothes. They couldn't see me for looking and smelling and running.
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> The people who helped me were the wrong people, from the point of view of the moral society, from the point of view of the democratic society. The people who helped me, whose hands reached out to mine, whose hearts and heads touched mine, were the pimps, the prostitutes and hustlers, the thieves, and the murderers. The people who helped me through grade school were the gangs. The people who helped me through the high school of adolescence were the kids up in the reformatory. The people who helped me through the college of life were the people up in the prisons. And the people who helped me to get graduate training in the university of common sense were the people out on the streets, in the ghettos that were infested with crime and delinquency.
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> Say this to them, because man there are a whole lot of kids on this street just like me. They smell bad, they act bad, they talk bad, and their report card says they're dumb. But you know something? These kids are smart. These kids are beautiful. These kids are great. They need to be seen and helped.

Malcolm X is dead, but the conditions under which he developed are still here. The correctional systems of our society have perhaps one of the most strategic opportunities to insure that the Negro offender is not only seen and understood but helped.

PUERTO RICANS

Joseph Monserrat

Puerto Ricans in the United States are confronted with a problem that is peculiar although it is shared somewhat with other groups. If you look at the small outline map of the United States which we are using for reference in this seminar, you will find that Puerto Rico is missing, although it is an integral part of the United States. I'm glad the Department of Commerce left Puerto Rico off the map, because it leads to one of the points that some participants in this seminar have been trying to make today. The point is this: Quite frequently, we in minority groups are an afterthought. For example, I was here last week for a meeting of the Plans for Progress group that has had five national meetings in Washington over five years. Not until the fifth session did they finally recognize such groups as American Indians, Spanish-Americans, and other minorities.

I head an agency of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico established on the mainland to do two things: (1) to help the Puerto Rican newcomer adjust to his new community; and (2) to help the community adjust to the newcomer. In the process of trying to do our job as migration specialists, we run programs of employment, education, social service, community organization, information and identification.

In trying to do our job, in thinking about it and planning for people, we began to run into recurring questions. A number of years ago I was frequently asked to go out to speak on "The Puerto Rican Problem." To identify what this Puerto Rican problem was, I tried to begin to find out from the groups who placed the "Problem" in quotes. The only trouble was that, every time I asked what they meant by "the Puerto Rican Problem," people would talk to me about housing, about education, or about crime, or any number of things, but no one told me exactly what this "Puerto Rican Problem" really was. This began to ring some signal bells, and we began to look around, not only at the problems of Puerto Rican newcomers but at the problems of their new communities.

We have offices in Boston, Chicago, New York, and elsewhere on the mainland. To help the newcomer adjust to his community, we begin by assuming that "adjustment" means adjustment to the middle-class values of the communities in which they live. And we find that, when we ask how can they "make it," the question becomes one of how they can come close to middle-class values. That's what "making it" is. I'm a Puerto Rican who has "made it." I've made it because when I get a haircut I get a crewcut, and when I want new clothes I go to Brownings' or Brooks Brothers. I don't speak English with a Spanish accent. If I were in the Bronx I could be speaking to you in a slight, carefully cultivated Yiddish accent. I am adjusted because

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I act like, I look like, and I sound like those around me. But the psychic cost of doing this had never been measured.

Common Problems of Newcomers

So our agency came up with the following formulation: most of the problems of the Puerto Ricans coming to the mainland have nothing to do with their culture, with their language, or with their background. What they have to do with is the history and legacy that Puerto Ricans have inherited in their new communities. The legacy runs something like this.

1. New groups have seldom been welcomed to the United States throughout the history of the country, from the founding fathers on down.
2. Most of the founding fathers came in search of religious liberty and opportunity for themselves, not for anybody else. Part of their legacy was that everyone had to fight to "make it," and growth beyond this idea has been somewhat slow.

America has never resolved the problems of the first-generation newcomer. The problems that Puerto Ricans are facing today are the same basic problems that every other new generation or group has faced throughout the history of the United States. To put it the other way around, first-generation Americans never have their problems resolved. Rather, it is the second generation, whose problems are totally different from those of the first, who begin to solve problems. It isn't until the third generation, when the group is totally "Americanized" and has "made it" into the middle class, that the problems are solved.

And what are the problems? Basically, the problems of the first-generation American newcomer are the chronic problems of the urban society into which he moves. Puerto Ricans living in the Lower East Side of New York are faced with the problems that Jacob Riis and Lincoln Steffens were writing about when the inhabitants of the Lower East Side were Jewish. The fact that Jewish culture differs from the Puerto Rican culture does not change the basic problems that both of those groups faced in that particular area. So if newcomers are to adjust to life in Boston, I suppose they will have to adjust to middle-class values with an Irish Catholic orientation. In New York City's Lower East Side, the values would have an orientation primarily Yiddish. And if we go into Chicago, we would probably find that there is a third norm in overall American values. I'd like to ask our previous speakers on Mexican-Americans: Who is the "Anglo" you're talking about? Thirty-six percent of all residents of the city of Chicago are either foreign-born or children of foreign-born. They're not Anglo-Saxon. We get very confused about some of these images which we're trying to emulate.

For Puerto Ricans, the first shock is that, as they move from one part of the American Union, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, to the mainland, they are immediately strangers, if not foreigners, in their own country. Being "foreign" in the United States has little to do with the law. For 50 years we Puerto Ricans have been born citizens of the United States. But we're still "foreigners." So we begin to look and see what it is that we're reacting against or to or about, and we come up with this: To be "different" in the United States has meant to be "less than."

The first thing we have to do if we're going to "make it" is to stop being different. Take language for example. It's a very peculiar thing that the United States is a monolingual nation, despite the fact that it has received people in large numbers who among them have spoken almost all of the world's languages. Why is American society monolingual? Primarily, it seems to me, because to be different means to be less than. Therefore, second-generation Americans historically, rather than be different, have given up the language, the culture, and the values of their parents in order to "become American."

The people that we're talking about in this seminar are groups of people who insist on continuing to be different. This insistence on continuing to be different in a democracy which we call pluralistic but which has strict limits to its cultural pluralism, creates a full range of cultural conflicts.

Kinds of Problems Puerto Ricans Face

About a million Puerto Ricans now live throughout the 50 states. But most of them have been here for less than 15 years. Puerto Ricans as a group do not have a second generation in this country. Eighty-five percent of all Puerto Ricans born on the mainland are under 14 years of age. We have not had, as yet, a group that has been able to go through technical school or college in order to begin to get the necessary professional know-how, simply because we haven't been here long enough.

So we're confronted with two kinds of problems. One is a time problem — meaning that there are some things that only time will take care of. The other is a problem of doing something about certain key issues *now,* issues about which something can be done. To differentiate between these two sets of problems has been one of the major difficulties confronting our agency.

There's another factor that distinguishes Puerto Ricans on the mainland: they have Puerto Rico. This means that Puerto Ricans can see a totality of themselves in a way in which perhaps other groups cannot. For example, the criminal in Puerto Rico is arrested by a Puerto Rican policeman. He's taken before a Puerto Rican judge; he is prosecuted by a Puerto Rican district attorney and defended by a Puerto Rican lawyer. The jury is Puerto Rican. The warden at the prison, the guard who takes care of him, and the parole board are Puerto Rican also, as is the man who finally pardons him. This is a little different from other groups in the United States. In Puerto Rico the criminal is just a criminal or he's just a prisoner, and the children in school are just children. But one of the problems we're confronted with in the rest of the United States is that in prisons we're not *just* prisoners — we're Puerto Rican prisoners. And the child in school is not *just* a child; he's a Puerto Rican child.

So we begin to find that many of the problems that we're confronted with have something to do with another aspect, another dimension. For example, teachers who teach us or social workers who work with us, even social scientists who study us, the policemen who arrest us, are quite frequently themselves second-generation Americans in the process of adjustment but don't know it. Consequently we Puerto Ricans, in many instances, put a mirror before those who are working with us and show them themselves just a generation ago, and sometimes even less than that.

The reaction to this is frequently more important than whatever cultural differences or whatever nuances of differences might exist. So our big job sometimes has been not just to inform people about some of our values but also to attempt to awaken in them some understanding of their own background and how this affects their relations with us.

Some Characteristics of Puerto Rican Groups

What are some of the characteristics, if you will, of the Puerto Rican groups? In the first place, Puerto Ricans are not a race: we're at best an ethnic group and I'm not even sure what that means. We are Negro and white and "mixed." Our background is mostly Western. We have not had any major significant influence from the Indian part of the population in Puerto Rico.

We have had a little more influence from the Negro part of our group, but less perhaps than might be thought. This is due in part to the fact that the Spanish and Portuguese slave system was different in many respects from the American-British slave system. In Puerto Rico slavery was not a question of color; it was a condition of life. Manumission was not only possible but under certain conditions was obligatory by law. The slave had laws to protect him, and he could buy his freedom on the installment plan. It's interesting to note that there has never been a revolution to free slaves in areas of the western hemisphere that had Spanish or Portuguese slave systems. The people abolished slavery themselves over a period of time.

I'm not saying that the slavery was any less evil; but I am saying that the value around human worth in relation to slavery differed under the two systems. Thus most Puerto Ricans who are in the United States today are culturally and racially an integrated group. As such, they're not understood by their Negro brother any more than they're understood by their white brother. And they're in a position in which they cannot accept the value systems around color of either because to do so would bring racism into their own family in a way in which it has never existed.

This creates a series of concerns and problems around the group. Puerto Ricans are generally, for example, discussed and mentioned as either "non-white" or "other." The concern of the Puerto Rican is not a question of his relation to color because there's a simple admission about "este negro," but it is with the value that's attributed to color. So the reaction is not against being considered a color but being considered a Negro, non-white in the sense in which that reflects negative status in the United States. This requires some interpretation. A number of us have suggested strongly the need to discuss the implications of this because if we don't we're going to have some problems between our minority groups. So this is another area of concern.

Now, what do we have in Puerto Rican communities? I indicated a little earlier that, when you talk about Puerto Ricans, you're talking about three major groups, and there can be even more subdivisions than that. We're talking about the Puerto Rican who was born in Puerto Rico, received part of his education or all of it in Puerto Rico, grew to adulthood in Puerto Rico, and moved here. He is physically living here, but his whole value system is that which prevails in Puerto Rico. Then we have his younger brother, who also received some education in Puerto Rico and brings with him to the mainland the strength of having had this knowledge. He also has the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the value system operating on the mainland by continuing his education and forming, as I indicated, the first generation. But what many of you will be working with very shortly, and there's a large percentage of those right now, is the Puerto Rican who is Puerto Rican only by virtue of a definition. That definition says that if either one of your parents was born in Puerto Rico then, when the census counter comes around, you become "Puerto Rican."

There's a little bit more than that. Perhaps these facts are more graphic. Fifty percent of the Puerto Rican youngsters in New York City don't speak anything but English. Thirty-three percent need help with English; 17 percent can be said to be non-English-speaking. This doesn't mean that, when you ask a question, they won't get defensive. They're not going to tell you they don't speak English — that's a very different situation. Again, the group is growing in many ways. You can see tremendous similarities to the Commonwealth in its own development.

First of all, we come from an island which was a colonial possession of Spain for 400 years and then, for a few more years, a colonial possession of the United States. Puerto Rico became a Commonwealth in 1952, but even before that, beginning in 1942, we were able to elect our own governor. We had been in existence since 1508 when the first Puerto Rican migrant discovered the mainland. Ponce de Leon was the first Puerto Rican migrant. He migrated from Puerto Rico and discovered Florida. You recall that's a century before that very overcrowded little ship, from which everyone in America wants to be a descendant, landed at Plymouth Rock. I suppose one of the ancestors of the clientele of the Bureau of Indian Affairs must have looked out from behind a tree then and said, "Ugh! Foreigners."

Reasons for Migration

What we're dealing with here, which I'm trying to point out, is that something takes place which affects us all, but the result is not clearly seen. Let me try to indicate something about migration and its effects on our group, and I think on some of the values. Puerto Ricans have been living in all the states since 1930, but it wasn't until 1946-48 that any large movement took place. The Puerto Rican migration has never been large by mainland standards. There have been seven years in American history when one million immigrants entered the country in one year; yet, although Puerto Ricans have been migrating for a long time, there are not yet quite a million of them on the mainland. What we are talking about here, for example, is a migration of 39,000 in 1946 or 69,124 in 1956 — the largest net migration of Puerto Ricans ever to take place in one year.

Why do we come? There is a direct relationship, an extremely high correlation, between migration and job opportunities on the mainland. Puerto Ricans come to New York when there are job opportunities and they need jobs. Since 1908, when we began keeping records, more Puerto Ricans returned to Puerto Rico during depressions — when, incidentally, the situation is worse in Puerto Rico than it is here — than came up. In recessions or rolling adjustments, whichever the color of your politics, migration slows down or stops. So there's a direct connection between need for labor in the area into which people are moving and the movement itself. Then a group of Puerto Rican newcomers (I believe the same thing is true for Negroes, Mexican-Americans, American Indians, and the Appalachian whites) moves into a new community and begins at the bottom of economic totem pole. This means that they are working for the lowest wages.

In most of this country, the urban center needs these workers for its own economic health on the one hand, but on the other hand it has not been prepared to meet the needs of this group. Thus, for example, the new group needs basic decent housing. But no American community is prepared to provide such housing for the people who need it. So all of these newcomers wind up in the poorer areas of cities, in the older areas, the slums. Here the whole vicious cycle begins. In the older areas and older centers, we also have the older and poorer schools, and so the whole problem of education begins here. Also, we find that these areas have historically had the highest criminal rates and the highest juvenile delinquency rates, regardless of the group populating them.

So when I say that we have to look beyond the cultural differences to see some of these things, I'm trying to indicate that this is what I'm talking about. These are the areas that have the fewest recreation units, the most dilapidated housing, etc. There have been some changes, but not too many. So the group itself has to tool up to deal with some of the issues it's been confronted with. But a colonial people for whom grouping together was sedition, who could not group together because it was punishable under the law, had to find a different way of dealing with it.

Ways of Survival

One of the ways these Puerto Ricans deal with oppression is what we call in colloquial Spanish *mongo.* A Puerto Rican says, "uh huh," and you speak to him and say, "uh huh," but you've got to define what that "uh huh" means. It can mean yes, it can mean no, or it can mean maybe. And again, he has found that historically one of the ways he has been able not only to survive, but to move ahead has been through this "mongoism" — this ability not to take issue at a given time but to wait *his* time before he takes issue.

Historically, this is what this little island, which now has two and a half million people, has had to do to survive. And what has happened in that struggle to survive? Little Puerto Rico became a province of Spain and had representatives in the court of Cortez, when all of Latin America, with its much richer, larger, and stronger population, was unrepresented. And here little Puerto Rico and the most powerful nation on earth discuss new ways of developing new relationships with the American Union, and they set up something that's called the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Again, this is done by the historically successful way in which these people have been working, through negotiation, through discussion, rather than any kind of uprising, because we could be wiped out in no time. There are only about three and a half million Puerto Ricans in the world. But as a people they have developed this successful and sophisticated method of fighting.

However, the picture begins to change as we get a second and even a third generation who are being raised, not with the strength, background, and knowledge that being Puerto Rican provided for them as Puerto Ricans but within the urban society of which they are a part. And this upbringing will do for them what it has done for all the other groups. The Mexican kids will begin to make noise in a different way; the American Indians are beginning to make noise in a different way; the Puerto Ricans are too. We had two examples of this last year, one in Chicago and one in Perth Amboy. What I'm saying is that, for each of these groups, the social situation in which they find themselves has brought about a similar reaction and a similar kind of change.

Cultural Traits under Pressure

To be a bit more specific about some of the cultural traits, in many ways we are similar to all Spanish-speaking people. For that matter I would extend this a bit to say that we're very similar to people who have an agrarian back-

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ground. Concepts of time have been mentioned by most of the speakers here, all kinds of time — Japanese time, Mexican-American time, Puerto Rican time, Indian time. When America was an agricultural economy, time did not mean the same thing it means now. What we're talking about, very often, is not a question of a static culture, but a question of industrialization and urbanization. These factors have not been mentioned specifically here but they have a dynamic effect on people.

In Puerto Rico today, the concept of time is very different from the concepts of 25 years ago. Why? Because in that 25-year period we have changed from an agricultural economy to an industrial one. This industrialization, which some people call Americanization, has brought about a radically different value system around time. In an industrial society you must have a different concept and value of time. So we are going through this process at both ends — at the home base and in the areas and communities into which we're moving.

Another cultural trait under pressure is what's called the extended family concept. This exists also in most agricultural situations. It existed for Italians, it existed for the Greeks, and it always existed for other people who were primarily agricultural. This is not such a great cultural difference as we may think it is, but it is something which is prevalent now among Puerto Ricans in a way that is less prevalent among Italians and other groups who are much more industrialized and much more urbanized. The extended family concept is disappearing. But we have the extended family system still functioning in such things as the care of children and aiding, at least temporarily, the newcomer.

We also have questions about the use of names, and this certainly brings a great many problems. Is his name Fernandez or is it Gonzalez? It's both. The use of maternal and paternal names gives a great deal of difficulty, because in the Spanish system we keep the lineage of both the mother and the father. My name is José Monserrat, which is my father's surname. Figueroa is my mother's surname. If I used my Spanish name, it would be José Monserrat Figueroa. Then when I show my New York City birth certificate and I'm not Figueroa but I'm Monserrat, I'm likely to get into a lot of trouble. This is the Spanish system. (Other groups do this too, but in a different way, as for example, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.) This is a custom throughout all of Latin America, which unfortunately creates confusion among record keepers on the mainland.

As with many rural people, one of the institutions which is disappearing but which nonetheless is still common is the institution called the consensual marriage, a non-legal union. Now this was an institution in the United States too, and yet we forget that as a country industrializes and become more paper-oriented and identity-oriented, these things begin to disappear. In Puerto Rico these marriages were never legal, but they were understood and accepted. The concept of illegitimacy of children was removed, because children shouldn't be illegitimate. This kind of marriage creates a great many problems, anguish, and a great moral problem to a good many people who forget two things. One, desertion has always been the poor man's divorce. Two, abortion is the rich man's out. Many things take place in much the same way, except that the reaction in the different milieus in which people are raised are more related to time and stage of development than cultural difference.

The concept of extended family meant that certain kinds of public social institutions were not developed. For example, for a long time there were few orphanages in Puerto Rico because it was understood that as you were a *compadre* (godfather) you took over the child and the child became part of your family. This system now begins to disappear. With its disappearance and with increasing industrialization of Puerto Rico, new social institutions are replacing many of the family's functions. Old-age homes never existed before, but they do now. Orphanages, foster-care programs, homemaker programs — the whole gamut of social services began to grow geometrically with the growth of industrialization in Puerto Rico.

Many of the people who now live in the States are a product of the Puerto Rico they left 20 years ago, where we didn't have enough schools for all of the children, as differentiated from the present expanded education program in Puerto Rico. They are the product of much lower health standards, while today, for example, Puerto Rico has one of the lowest death rates in the world. The death rate in Puerto Rico today is 6.4 compared to 9.3 in the United States. We're a young people; half of the Puerto Rican population is under 21 years of age.

Generational Problems

One more thing that I'd like to indicate is the whole range of generational problems among Puerto Ricans. First, there is the value system of the parents around the child. Among Puerto Ricans on the mainland there are many complaints of incorrigibility, particularly with girls. We used to have an institution called the *internado,* a form of school that did not have attached to it the mainland concept of a training school although it handled many difficult youngsters. Thus in the early days of migration, unaware of the difference, some Puerto Rican parents would go to agencies asking that their children be placed in an *internado* so that they would learn some discipline.

What was happening was that the Puerto Rican school-age child was learning the value system of his peers which he was beginning to apply at home and cause conflict. This youngster is in a no-man's land, as I tried to indicate earlier, between the first-generation values of his parents and those of the school and community system in which he lives. Now it's the youngster's reaction, in part, to that tremendous traumatic experience which frequently explodes into antisocial behavior, which is the root of the dealings that you have with him. I was once the coordinator of the New York City Youth Board street gang project; in fact I was the first coordinator when that program began in the late 1940's. This was one of the areas of major concern that we found in the youth who joined antisocial gangs and things of that sort.

I haven't been as specific about the traits that we're talking about as I would have liked to be, but I am telling you that this is what we find, whether it be in employment, in schools, or anywhere we go. What we find is a group of young people under pressure in the major areas of high-arrest, low-income crime.

There is relatively little organized crime among Puerto Ricans. Crimes of passion, policy, numbers, narcotics, and a certain amount of robbery and theft we do have. Outside of that we really haven't "made it." We don't have bank embezzlers and things of this sort.

If we follow the path of "adjustment" or "acculturation" of all the groups that preceded us, then I'm afraid that we can say that just as we are now getting top baseball players, just as we have world champion boxers coming on, we will also be getting the top criminals. This has been a clearly observable process throughout the history of the United States.

Corrections and the Puerto Rican

As I understand them the tasks of correctional institutions are twofold:

1. To quarantine dangerous criminals and thereby protect the community.
2. To correct defective social functioning and to rehabilitate the person.

Where youth is concerned there is, of course, the attempt to dissociate many institutions from the idea of criminality. Many youth are victims of incredible social realities, and many institutions are essentially protective in their function. Yet we must face some facts about the images of institutions, how they are seen by the inmates, the custodial personnel, the immediate community, the community from which the inmate comes, and the broad tax-paying community that largely determines the nature of the institution's program.

The truth is that the overwhelming view of correctional institutions is that they perform a quarantine function. Goffman, in his book *Asylums,*[1] points out that institutions become almost self-contained social structures, and that the patient, client, or criminal must deal with and adjust to some very severe realities. Among other things, privacy is limited, and certain kinds of depersonalizing experiences occur. For example, prisoners are searched and examined; their mail is read.

Furthermore in any look at correctional institutions one sees little heterosexual contact, a fact that increases the artificiality of the social milieu in which the prisoners are to be corrected or rehabilitated. Prisons are notorious for their social structures, in which status, manipulation, power, and contraband are almost synonymous. Many prisoners "do better" inside than outside. In fact it is likely, for example, that a Puerto Rican who is sent to prison for two years after three months in New York will be a socialized prisoner before he has had a chance to adjust to the realities of his migration to the city. Therefore, what is suggested to me is not that the prison's task be defined as making good prisoners, but that the prison's task become the effective utilization of time.

Programming for Release

If the prisoner speaks only Spanish, he may need to learn English. On the other hand, he might be planning to return to Puerto Rico, where he needs little English. The latter should be helped to learn enough English to help him in the institution itself. However, the institution would do well to consider offering classes in Spanish in auto mechanics, the operation of heavy machinery, basic mathematics, reading (in Spanish), etc.

For the goal is really to help the prisoner to an early release and successful adjustment to the reality of the outside world of employment, family life, and responsibility. The point is that the prisoner's release plans should determine his program at the institution, and that program should have a practical base. I am much interested in experimentation at correctional institutions with role-playing techniques and the development of simulated social situations which correspond to the realities in the world outside.

For example, the area of consumer education might be developed through a small supermarket in which prices are kept current through local newspaper ads. Shoes, work clothes, and appliances might also be included with a discussion of costs, value, buying on time.

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[1] Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961).

Courses in learning how to travel and perhaps even driver education courses might be developed in conjunction with private industry or foundations. But we really must be concerned with the walls which, while confining the prisoner, also keep out the world. We should begin to wonder about those walls we have built, for they exclude us and aid the prison community in creating a recidivist world — a self-perpetuating system.

There is little doubt that the creation of criminals is a continuing process, deep and serious for society. One can hardly solve such problems by consumer education. Yet one can try to change the pattern of criminal recidivism by changing the nature of the institutions we now have. It seems to me that this is a task that starts with children's institutions, adoption, and the foster-care systems of the state.

How does a poor New York City family or an aunt or a cousin go about visiting an inmate at Elmira or Coxsackie? Even when they really want to go, how does a social worker motivate a large family to ride the bus? Placing many institutions some distance from the city which feeds them really isolates the offender from family and social connections. In the case of the Puerto Rican who is a recent migrant, his loneliness must be immense. Accustomed to relying upon an extended family for affection, recreation, and recognition, he may have extremely serious adjustment problems for lack of physical contact with the family. Yet I know of no serious large-scale program to encourage family visits, a program perhaps subsidized by federal or state correction systems. While the problem of contraband may be increased with more visitors, the gains should more than offset that. The gains would be a better adjustment to the institution, a better adjustment at release and, hopefully, reduced recidivism. There should be an effort not only to have more family visits but more community visits.

I cannot help sounding like a reformer instead of an expert on the Puerto Rican's cultural differences, and here is the dilemma I spoke of earlier. People talk about "the Puerto Rican Problem," but the real problem so far as I can see is always something else like education, language, or job training. In corrections it is the system that is the problem. The Puerto Rican is only incidental to the real problem. Therefore I feel it is my place to comment on the correctional system more generally.

I think that the correctional system in this country is going to be under close scrutiny by community groups. These groups will want to know what constructive use the inmates have made of their time. They will want to know about job training, about development of skills. They will want to know how prisoners are prepared for re-entry into society. They will want to know how the local community can help.

Puerto Ricans, as relative newcomers, are only beginning to find, in substantial numbers, their place in community politics and action. As they make their presence felt in local politics, they will make their concerns with the correctional system known also. I have hopes that Puerto Ricans will fight not primarily for a recognition by correctional institutions of their cultural differences but for a system which emphasizes successful re-entry into a productive society.

Corrections Personnel and Puerto Ricans

Corrections personnel, dealing largely with lawbreakers who have been judged guilty of a crime, are frequently under pressure to punish prisoners in a variety of ways. The pressure comes largely from the public which has classically been ambivalent about crime and punishment. The tendency is for groups like Puerto Ricans to be used as scapegoats even within the prison community. I would guess that, if Puerto Ricans do the "worst" jobs on the outside, the same tendency would occur inside.

But here some of the critical problems of institutional management would depend upon the ratio of Puerto Rican prisoners to the total population. In a state like Idaho, with only 60 Puerto Rican residents in 1960, probably very few Puerto Ricans are incarcerated. These few can be handled on an individual basis rather than with a special program. On the other hand, in states with sizable Puerto Rican populations, like New York, New Jersey, and Illinois, programs dealing specifically with Puerto Rican offenders should be instituted.

Correctional personnel should be offered an opportunity to learn the Spanish language (perhaps using selected prisoners as teachers' aides) and something about Puerto Rican culture. It would be important to learn the differences between Puerto Ricans with a rural background as opposed to those from the city. Also, the differences between generations on the mainland are of major importance.

Finally, all correctional personnel should learn a great deal about the problems faced by migrants who relocate physically and culturally. Those correctional personnel interested in the individual's social development would do well to learn about the Puerto Rican family, the roles of the male and female, the attitude toward children. For example, although you may not find what is called an "intact family" in mainland terms, remember that many Puerto Ricans are reared by the extended family quite effectively. Both historical developments and a high death rate in the past made for a situation where many children had no parents to care for them. The culture provided for this problem with the extended family.

Understanding the family situation is paramount in considering release programs for youth and also older prisoners. Probably among Puerto Ricans the extended family should be tapped as a resource, in addition to the immediate family.

In summary, then, training programs for correctional staff will depend upon the directions being taken by the system. If families and communities form an increasing role in an institution's program, then much of the training should focus on preparing staff to develop new programs. Family counseling, home visits, and family weekend institutional visits should be considered and planned for on a much-expanded basis.

If the staff is upset by change, they will only be behaving normally. In some measure the notion of training will have to include retraining for many personnel. Time will be allocated differently for correctional personnel, and more diverse jobs will be created to absorb the retrained personnel in more skilled work areas.

THE JOB CORPS EXPERIENCE WITH MINORITIES

Donald G. Dodge

In order to bring you information about the Job Corps experience and the implications it may have for correctional personnel working with cultural minorities, I must explain the method which the Corps uses in selecting its members. Selection criteria are particularly important in this connection because geographical distributions could determine to some extent the racial and ethnic composition of Job Corps centers.

How Corpsmembers Are Selected

The Economic Opportunity Act provided considerable latitude to the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (delegated to the Director of Job Corps) to establish selection criteria. Essentially the act stipulated that selected youths would be 16 through 21 years of age and residents of the United States or its possessions. Both sexes would be eligible. Chart 1 describes other eligibility requirements which are self-explanatory.

To determine selection geographically between and within states, the Job Corps used data from a 1965 Bureau of Census special run on the incidence of poverty in the United States. A county-by-county count of persons in the poverty classification was converted to state and national totals. A state's percentage of the national poverty population is easily calculated. For example, 3.89 percent of the poverty population in the United States resides in the state of Alabama. Therefore, of the number of youths Job Corps intends to recruit in any given period of time, 3.89 percent would come from Alabama.[1] This formula is modified from time to time to reflect openings at centers and local economic conditions.

The method noted is sound for state allocations but requires some refinement for distribution within states to insure against selecting the bulk of youths from urban areas. To be certain of adequate urban-rural representation, total state allocations are distributed within states according to city size, that is, proportionally distributed on the basis of city population.

To provide some notion of the implications of the Job Corps experience for corrections in particular and society in general, the following discussion will be confined to: what corpsmembers are like when entering, their experience while in the Corps, and differences among them. This analysis should provide some insight into differential motivation, adjustment, and achievement of corpsmembers.

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[1] An assumption is made that persons in the poverty classification are equally distributed as to age. There are age clusters, but the distribution is not sufficiently unequal to warrant weighting the calculation.

CHART 1

Job Corps Admission Criteria

Criterion	**Application**
A. Be at least 16 but not yet 22 at time of enrollment.	Require birth certificate, baptismal record, Selective Service registration, certification of age by local public agency. No waiver.
B. Be a permanent resident of the United States.	Immigrant alien must show papers. No waiver.
C. Have dropped out of school and have been out at least 3 months at time of application.	School records must be checked. If applicant is still in school, waiver may be granted providing school authorities agree he is not benefiting.
D. Need vocational training to get and hold a decent job.	Employment background checked.
E. Be able to profit from a change in environment in a residential training program.	Environment checked by questioning applicant, welfare worker, and visiting parents whenever possible. Waiver is allowed if youth is living in deprived circumstances not covered by environmental questions.
F. Come from a low-income family.	Income level asked of youth, parents, social worker. Waiver allowed when severely deprived conditions exist despite an income above poverty level as determined by OEO.
G. Have sufficient mental ability to benefit from Corps program.	Non-written mental test given.
H. Not be in draft classification 1-A after pre-induction exam or in national guard or reserve component.	Selective Service registration.
I. Not have a history of serious criminal or antisocial behavior that would jeopardize his own safety or that of others or limit his ability to adjust to the Job Corps.	Mandatory check of police and court records; applicant inadmissible if convicted of major felonies. Waiver allowed if, on review by panel of lawyers, psychologists, and social workers, applicant appears willing and able to conform to Corps standards.
J. Express a firm interest in joining the Corps and a desire to do his best to complete training.	Applicant must sign 90-day commitment. No waiver.
K. Have written consent of parent or legal guardian.	Visit parents, or ask social worker to do so, to explain program and obtain consent. No waiver.
L. Not have a medical condition which is a potentially serious hazard to the youth or to others, results in significant interference with normal performance of Corps duties, or requires frequent or prolonged medical treatment.	Health screening administered. Medical examination at center.
M. If female with dependent child, present written certification from a public child welfare agency that it will be under adequate care and protection while youth is enrolled in Corps.	Help applicant obtain certification. No waiver.

Source: Job Corps Admissions Manual, JCH 313, effective Feb. 15, 1967.

Profile of an Incoming Enrollee[2]

Data on enrollees presented in Chart 2 clearly show that the Job Corps is reaching the target population of youth who:

are school drop-outs
lack employment skills and opportunity
fail to qualify for military service
have inadequate medical care
come from substandard areas, broken homes,
and uneducated families
have not adjusted to the school or community

The Job Corps population has become younger in the past year. At the beginning of calendar 1966, less than 20 percent were 16-year-olds and by April 1967 the proportion was nearly 30 percent. Seventeen-year-olds formed about 25 percent of the corpsmembers in the beginning of 1966 and 25 percent by April 1967. Over three-quarters of all enrollees are now 18 or under.

This shift in age composition has significant implications for program. The enrollee who is under 18 requires more attention to social and educational rehabilitation than older corpsmembers. He needs broad pre-vocational training rather than instruction in specific job skills. More effort must be directed toward getting him to return to school and other pre-employment programs. Different follow-through systems are required, especially post-training support services.

Coming from this background, what kind of a person is the typical enrollee when he first arrives at the Job Center? He has a poor self-image; others are apt to see him as lazy and shiftless, probably a troublemaker. His goals are few or unreasonable. He views authority figures as "they" and his peers as "we." He is uninterested in the world outside. When he completes his Job Corps program, he should have — and we believe usually does have — a positive self-regard, a typically middle-class perception of self. He has become a "self-starter," cooperative but independent. He has some reasonable long-range goals and views with confidence his ability to progress toward these goals. He sees the staff as no threat to himself; instead, he respects and interacts with them. He has involved himself in center and community activities.

From the above profile of an entering enrollee, it should not be concluded that the average youth comes to the Corps with low aspirations. On the contrary, it has been Corps experience that youngsters from deprived backgrounds ordinarily subscribe to the dominant cultural values — home, family life, need for education, owning an automobile, etc. — but they lack a clear understanding of the way to reach these goals. The deprived youngster may be out of phase with the opportunity structure; or, more likely, the structure omits certain youngsters entirely.

I believe that correctional personnel will be interested in information on antisocial behavior among enrollees. As noted in Chart 1, youth cannot be selected for the Job Corps if they have a history of serious criminal or antisocial behavior that would jeopardize the safety of themselves or others in the Job Corps or would limit their ability to adjust to the Corps. Chart 2 shows that 27 percent of the boys and 16 percent of the girls had engaged in known minor antisocial behavior prior to entering the Corps, while 10 percent of the boys and 2 percent of the girls had had one serious conviction.

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[2] Data presented here have been selected from those most recently available (April 1967), thus updating the charts and parts of the text presented at the seminar on January 30-31, 1967.

CHART 2

Profile of A Job Corps Enrollee

	Male	*Female*
DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS		
Age	17.5	18.0
Race (percent Negro)	56.0	48.0
EDUCATION		
Years of school	8.8	9.8
Reading level (40% of corpsmen in conservation centers read below 3rd grade level)	4.6	6.2
Math level	4.8	5.5
HOME RESIDENCE		
Rural	19%	5%
Small town, mid-city	40%	35%
Metro (100,000+)	41%	60%
PREVIOUS BEHAVIOR		
No previous record	63%	82%
Minor anti-social behavior	27%	16%
One serious conviction	10%	2%
EMPLOYMENT		
Had full or part-time job prior to Job Corps	65%	50%
Of those reporting:		
• 60% said they made less than $1.25 per hour		
• Pre-Job Corps earnings reported to Social Security Administration averaged $639 per year, with 2.5 quarters worked		
INDUCTION STATUS		
Of those eligible for armed forces:		
• Failed test		47%
• Mental reasons		30%
• Physical reasons		17%
HEALTH		
Had never seen doctor or dentist		80%
FAMILY PATTERN		
Broken home		60%
Head of household unemployed		63%
Family on relief		39%
Substandard housing		60%
Asked to leave school		64%
Both parents had less than 8th grade education		49%

Source: Job Corps.

Follow-up studies of enrollees have indicated that there is practically no correlation between pre-Job Corps antisocial behavior and such behavior in the Corps. While a good many corpsmembers were arrested for their behavior in neighboring communities in the early days of the Corps, the rate has fallen sharply and now is more in line with arrest rates for juveniles for the country as a whole.

Guidance and Programmed Instruction

The original provision was one counselor per hundred corpsmembers. This, of course, proved to be unsatisfactory. But ceilings on the number of staff seemed to preclude doing anything to improve the ratio. Therefore, the "Corpsmen Advisory System" was developed. Staff members, serving voluntarily, act as guidance counselors to about 14 corpsmembers.

Using minimal basic data — reading and math scores and expressed vocational interest — together with carefully detailed instruction, the advisor maps out the steps which the corpsmember must take to accomplish his goals. For example, if a youngster aspires to be a mechanic, the advisor tells him where he is now in terms of academic achievement and what he must do academically to achieve his goal. This system has been very successful. It has been correlated with Job Corps programmed instructional material.

Programmed instruction has proved its value with corpsmembers, and in some academic areas it has had rather dramatic results. Rates of achievement have been determined by achievement tests standardized on public school populations. The school achievement norm is 1:1, which means a proportionate gain of one educational unit to a given unit of time. Corpsmembers are tested for achievement when they enroll and again after completing programmed materials. In February 1967, a comparison of the entering and current achievement levels of 29,000 corpsmembers showed that, in reading, they had accomplished 1.5 educational units per unit of time on the average. For the five best Job Corps centers, the average accomplishment was 2.8 educational units per unit of time. In arithmetic, the rate of achievement was even better as compared with public schools. The average for the whole Job Corps was 1.8 educational units per unit of time, while in the five best centers the average was 3 educational units.

It would appear from these results that corrections should experiment with programmed educational materials, particularly those developed by and for the Job Corps.

Differences between Groups in Attitudes and Achievement

On the basis of paper-and-pencil tests, Negro corpsmembers reported more interest in past school work than did the Caucasians. Negroes also judged themselves to have been more competent in school work than did Caucasians. During their stay in the Corps, Negroes are more interested in school and participate in more school activities than Caucasian corpsmembers. There is no significant[3] racial difference in educational and vocational goals.

In regard to social behavior, Caucasians carry knives more frequently than do Negroes. The dorms considered "best" by all staff have a preponderance of older corpsmembers and Negro corpsmembers.

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[3] I.e., statistically significant at .01 level. Education and research reports are available from the Evaluation and Research Division, Plans and Program Directorate, Job Corps.

Results of the tests and observations just noted were not broken down on other than Negro-Caucasian basis, but some observations of staff members about corpsmembers coming from various ethnic groups and regions may be of interest.

Appalachian Caucasians are apt to enroll at ages 16-18. They find it difficult to adjust to center life and do best in rural conservation centers near home. In comparison with other groups, fewer of these boys complete the program.

American Indian youth show many of the characteristics of Appalachian whites. They are very dependent on reservation life and ties with their own culture.

Puerto Ricans must be able to see a payoff related — preferably immediately related — to what they are doing in the Corps. Sometimes they are perceived as hostile, but closer examination indicates rather that they are "loners."

Mexican-Americans adapt best to centers in the Southwest. As compared with other groups, they do not see education as a means to an end, but they are anxious to learn a marketable skill.

Urban Negroes are socially sophisticated, as compared with other groups. They adapt readily to centers. Highly motivated, they readily make the connection between educational and vocational goals. They are apt to stay with the program longer than any other group.

Implications for Corrections

Progressive correctional personnel are now moving forward in taking differences among people into account and adapting program to these factors. They are also moving away from the concept of purely custodial care and are trying to prepare imprisoned persons for productive, self-supporting lives after release. Job Corps experience in both these areas should be useful to corrections.

Basic educational materials developed by and for the Job Corps have proved their value and might well be examined for their use in correctional settings. The Job Corps has found that basic education and pre-vocational training and/or the development of general employability skills are more lasting than instruction in specific vocational skills. This too may have implications for corrections.[4]

Job Corps experience in training about 10,000 staff members, from resident workers (roughly comparable to cottage parents or counselors in corrections) to teachers, should have some utility for corrections. This new cadre of trained persons who are experienced in working with deprived youth in residential settings will probably form a manpower pool which should benefit corrections directly in the coming years.

The experience of the Job Corps should reinforce the movement in corrections to work in the community. Resources and techniques for assisting people to become productive citizens must be focused at the local level. All the community's present resources must be fully utilized and modified to meet the needs of different groups — racial, ethnic, and socio-economic.

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[4] Time and space limitations have precluded a more thorough examination of information believed to be relevant to corrections. Many more data on needs, aspirations, etc. are available from Job Corps. Educational and other materials may be obtained from the Associate Director, Plans and Programs, Job Corps, Washington, D.C. 20506.

The direct services to individuals offered by the Job Corps and by correctional institutions cannot, I believe, be expected to create lasting effects. Far more efficient and effective services — educational, therapeutic, and preventive — must be developed at the local level.

I believe it is vital to design training programs to equip correctional personnel to respond to the needs of cultural groups and individuals. As the Job Corps has provided the organizational climate to experiment with educational and other materials to meet individual needs, I suspect that corrections must also provide the climate to encourage and support more experimentation.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES: IMPLICATIONS FOR CORRECTIONS

Rudy Sanfilippo and Jo Wallach

At the outset of the seminar which is reported in this volume, some participants raised questions about attempting to isolate characteristics of ethnic minorities in American society. Is it really possible to chart such characteristics? Might an attempt to do so serve mainly to emphasize stereotypes about minority groups and thus heighten prejudices which need to be eliminated? Is it possible that considering ethnic characteristics in the context of corrections might reinforce an illusory link between minorities and criminality, if not actually forge one?

While all of these reservations were viewed as valid, the participants agreed that the hazards of such an inquiry would be more than offset by positive gains. The impact of ethnic variations on corrections has never been really assessed. Corrections itself appears to have gone on the assumption that all offenders are alike and has made little differentiation among them. Any variations in treatment have centered mainly around psychological rather than cultural differences.

Seminar discussions suggest that an understanding of cultural differences should affect corrections significantly. While it is true that every minority group in America today encounters the same dominant society and must make certain adjustments to that society's standards and expectations, the unique character of each group dictates how it will adjust, and perhaps how successfully. Furthermore, the very fact that such differences exist requires the dominant society to make different responses, each geared to the group concerned.

A simple and obvious example of the necessity for individualized attention is the fact that minorities often use language systems which are different from English. The Japanese speak and write Japanese; Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, Spanish; Indians, a variety of languages. Recent studies show that some Negroes have contrived a language system of their own. While many individuals within these groups speak or at least understand English, many do so imperfectly or not at all. Since communication is essential to any human interaction, particularly for any problem-solving process, correctional workers need to know something of the language of the ethnic groups from which come the offenders in their charge. It is all too common for people to interpret negatively what they do not understand. This works both ways: the offender may fail to cooperate in a rehabilitation program because he does not understand what is said, and the supervisor may conclude that he is merely stupid or hostile.

Most, if not all, of our institutions — schools, welfare, employment, law enforcement, corrections, for example — are predominantly middle-class in orientation. Most of the staff have backgrounds and educational experiences which reflect the dominant American society. That society is essentially white, Anglo-Saxon, and based upon the "Protestant ethic," with its emphasis on

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work for work's sake, thrift, education, and competition in almost every phase of life.

Conversely, many public offenders are oriented to lower-class values and oftentimes have habits which may appear "peculiar" to the middle-class person. Problems arise for ethnic minorities when the standards and values of their culture confront — and often clash with — those of the dominant society.

Historically, American society has sought to absorb minority groups and to shape them as rapidly as possible into the American mold. The "melting pot" is thus not a mere figure of speech. Differences have seldom been tolerated for long. Rather than building upon the strengths of different cultures, the American way has led to culture conflicts before assimilation.

Discussion of these broad issues and examination of the characteristics of specific groups led the seminar to conclude that these matters do indeed have implications for correctional programming and for the education, training, recruitment, and utilization of correctional personnel. A number of concrete suggestions were made as to how agencies and educational institutions can further the effectiveness of corrections as it works with members of minority groups.

Education and Training of Correctional Personnel

Among the implications of cultural differences for education and training of present and future correctional administrators and practitioners are the following.

1. Academic offerings for persons preparing to enter the corrections field should include course content dealing with the similarities and differences of ethnic minorities in America. Insofar as possible, such content should cover historical as well as present-day conditioning factors.

2. In order to bridge more effectively the gap between traditional academic training and the real world of minorities, members of these groups should be used as instructors. Such contacts provide for "cultural shock" as a learning experience; that is, students undergo an emotional experience which sensitizes them to the problems, frustrations, fears, and aspirations of persons who come from different strata of society than their own. Training experiments conducted by the University of Colorado[1] and the University of Southern California[2] have documented the usefulness of this device in training anti-poverty workers in both urban and rural settings.

3. Insofar as practicable, educational and training programs concerned with an understanding of ethnic minorities should be conducted where such persons normally live. It is generally true in America today that low-income ethnic minority groups tend to live in urban sections or in rural areas which are socially as well as physically remote from the dominant culture. Training "in context" has been demonstrated as an effective device to accelerate the learning process and to increase sensitivity to problems which can only be lived vicariously in the usual antiseptic classroom.[3]

Traditional universitity and college offerings in race relations and anthropology have tended to be too abstract for students preparing for work in the helping services. Viewing ethnic groups from a vantage point of contemporary society and within the context of their urban and rural settings can greatly increase a student's capacity to make more meaningful use of the academic experience.

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[1] Howard Higman, Robert Hunter, and William T. Adams, *The Colorado Story*, University of Colorado, Institute of Behavioral Science, Bureau of Sociological Research (Boulder, Colo.: The Bureau, 1964).

[2] Rudy Sanfilippo and Robert Schasre, *Target: Youth Opportunity Center Specialists*, A Training Program within the Context of Poverty, University of Southern California, Center for Training and Career Development (Los Angeles, Calif.: The Center, 1966).

[3] See two preceding references.

Utilization of Personnel

An appreciation of cultural differences among offenders leads also to suggestions regarding the utilization of personnel. Among the more obvious are these:

1. Caseloads or work assignments of correctional personnel should be determined on the basis of their special interest, training, competence, and sensitivity to particular groups. As noted earlier, communication skills are crucial in the evolvement of meaningful working relationships. Persons unable to relate effectively to certain minority groups should not be expected to perform well in assignments where they are exposed to daily contacts with them. It is fallacious to assume that professionals can relate as well to all ethnic groups as they can to some of them. Certain correctional systems are now experimenting with attempts to classify offenders by psychological type and to match these with types of correctional workers. Similar experiments need to be undertaken in matching worker and offender in terms of cultural variables. Such matching should not be done merely on the basis of similar ethnic origin but in terms of interest, training, and demonstrated effectiveness.

2. Increased sensitivity to the characteristics of ethnic minorities should lead corrections to consider deploying personnel and decentralizing offices into those areas where large numbers of public offenders are found. Treating offenders in their daily living environments can be expected to yield better results than is experienced when offices and personnel remain remote from the social environments of offenders.

3. Focusing upon the offender and his environment calls also for the establishment of linking mechanisms between the correctional agency and the community and its neighborhoods. Considerable success has been achieved in fields allied to corrections with the use of case aides and so-called "indigenous workers" to bridge the gap between the agency and the community. Corrections should experiment with the use of such nonprofessionals in order to evolve feedback between the agency and its clientele. Such a feedback system would provide the means whereby programs and staff could more accurately meet the needs of particular groups. Included among those to be considered as aides or nonprofessional indigenous workers should be the products of our correctional systems. It would be highly advantageous for full-time employment opportunities to be opened up to promising ex-offenders. Experiments conducted by the New Careers Project of the Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, have brought about considerable interest in expanding such employment opportunities in public service fields.[4]

Recruitment from Minority Groups

The recruitment of increased numbers from minority groups also seems indicated as corrections takes cognizance of the cultural differences among offenders. While the recruitment of large numbers of minority group persons may seem difficult on account of the education and experience required for most professional jobs in the field, corrections should nonetheless intensify its efforts to attract more such persons. Perhaps stipends and other financial inducements should be afforded members of minority groups so that they could complete their academic training in subjects useful in correctional settings.

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[4] Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, *Progress Report, 1966* (Sacramento, Calif.: The Institute, 1966), pp. 13-16.

Use of Consultants

In addition to increasing the numbers of minority group members as full-time staff members, there is a need for corrections to engage the part-time services of consultants who are trained in intergroup relations, community development, and related activities. As corrections systematically addresses the problems of ethnic minorities, there will be increasing need for technical assistance from highly trained persons who can provide ongoing consultative services on such matters.

* * *

In summary, it seems clear that an understanding of the social and cultural characteristics of minority group members will lead correctional agencies and the educational institutions which are training personnel for corrections to develop more effective curriculum content, training methods, and utilization and recruitment of personnel. Unless such development takes place, corrections will probably continue to achieve minimal success with these offenders. But planning and development which take account of cultural differences can help greatly in bringing about the rehabilitation of offenders who come from minority groups in our society.

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